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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1881.

VOLUME LXIII.—FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME XXXIII.

D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., EDITOR.

NEW YORK:
PHILLIPS & HUNT.
CINCINNATI:
WALDEN & STOWE.
1881.

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Art. I.—LIFE AND WORKS OF HAMLINE.

Life and Letters of Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Walter C. Palmer, M.D. With Introductory Letters by Bishops Morris, Janes, and Thomson. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

Biography of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D. By Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Works of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D. Edited by Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D. Vol. I, Sermons. Vol. II, Miscellaneous Writings. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The Christian Church is growing richer in biography from age to age. It is a principle of the divine economy that "the righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance." While this is primarily true of the remembrance which God cherishes of his own, however little they may be thought of by an unsympathetic world, yet it also has its application to the Church, which delights to preserve the memory of her holy men and women.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has always manifested a commendable interest in properly written memoirs of her deceased Bishops. But, unfortunately, in several instances there has been either a lack of data attainable for the production of such memoirs, or a lack of interest or industry on the part of surviving friends in preparing them.

Bishop Asbury, following the example of Mr. Wesley, kept journals of his travels and his ministerial work. Those journals have required but small additions on the part of his biogra-

phers and historians to enable the press to perpetuate his life. Bishop Coke's life, based also upon his journals and letters, was well written by his friend Samuel Drew. Bishops Whatcoat, M'Kendree and George left such meager materials behind them that attempting biographers have only been able to produce sketches of their lives a little more detailed than are allotted to all deceased ministers in the Minutes of their Conferences.

The life of Bishop Roberts was well written by his friend Dr. Elliott. That of Bishop Emory was published in connection with his works by his son Dr. Robert Emory. Ample justice was done to the life of Bishop Hedding by Dr. D. W. Clark, to whom, in turn, a similar service was rendered by Dr. Daniel Curry. Bishop Hamline has had two excellent biographers, while of eight other of our deceased Bishops no adequate memoirs have as yet been published.

The life of Bishop Hamline, when surveyed as a whole, is found to have extended into its sixty-eighth year. It comprised five distinct periods. The first was that of youth and secular employment, extending to the thirty-first year of his age. The second was that of his preparatory and itinerant ministry, covering eight years. The third was that of his official editorship, covering eight years. The fourth was that of his episcopacy, also covering eight years. The fifth was that of his retirement from public life and of his protracted suffering as an invalid during thirteen years. It seems proper now to group together the principal facts of his life in the order named, coupled with an estimate of his character and influence as they will descend to future generations.

Youth.

Leonidas Lent Hamline was born in Burlington, Connecticut, in 1799. His parents, who were of Huguenot ancestry, were Congregationalists. His father, although a farmer, was a practical school-teacher. The education of the son, both religious and secular, was strict and thorough. In the former he was trained to rigid puritanic habits and the straitest views of Hopkinsian Calvinism. In the latter, by common-school instruction and a course at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., he was so grounded in the elements of learning that he

began his own career as a school-teacher at the early age of seventeen. His youth was characterized by precocity in study and a deep religious reverence, both of which encouraged his father to educate him for the ministry. Of his early religious life he himself wrote to his son in 1847:

I was at seventeen under deep religious impressions, but my Calvinistic parents could not tell me how to be saved. I became stupid, and then they thought me converted; and for three or four years I thought so too, and studied Greek and Latin, expecting to be a minister in the Congregational Church, and prayed and talked in meetings; and some were convicted and converted under my little talks. But I gradually became convinced that I was not converted, and finally gave it all up, and went to studying law.

In the above extract we have his own estimate of his early religious experience. Yet from what has been recorded by others of the fruits of his influence at that period we might incline to a more favorable judgment. Dr. Hibbard says:

When about seventeen he engaged in teaching portions of the year to enable him to pursue his education. At that time he introduced religious services in his school. The awakening that followed was so strong that at times the school exercises were suspended. Many were hopefully converted. A Christian lady, living in East Barrington, Massachusetts, informed Mrs. Hamline that there were elders in the Church in that village, then living, who had been converted through Mr. Hamline's labors, when he was a young man of seventeen or eighteen, teaching classical school, with anticipations of the ministry.

Not long after these events he was overtaken by a serious calamity in the deterioration of his health, which, from hard study and a continued strain upon his nervous system, sympathetically affected his brain. As concerning the period of his life which followed, certain unfounded rumors have been circulated and unjust inferences drawn, it is well to consult Dr. Hibbard's careful and authentic statement of it:

Mr. Hamline's convalescence was slow. He continued his studies as he was able. But in the lapse of time he became dissatisfied with the evidences of his conversion, and changed his plan of life. He says of himself, "I gradually became convinced that I was not converted, and finally gave it all up and went to studying law."

On his return from the South, or soon after, he went West,

and in 1824 we find him at Zanesville, Ohio. Here he became acquainted with Miss Eliza Price, an amiable, well-reported, and carefully educated young lady, an only child and an heiress. To Miss Eliza Mr. Hamline was married. They lived together in much affection and harmony in the elegant paternal mansion, with an easy competence, but now without God. In 1827 he took license as a lawyer, at Lancaster, Ohio, and returned to his profession. Four children were given them, two sons and two daughters, of whom three died in infancy.

Secular Life and Conversion.

During the years devoted by Mr. Hamline to the professional study and practice of law he lived a life of religious indifference, and at the same time of irreligious unrest. His love of metaphysics made him an easy disciple and admirer of Edwards, while his educational prejudice against, not to say his contempt for, the Methodists left him no doctrinal antidote to his pernicious speculations. But he was a child of Providence, and wonderful were the steps by which he was brought to Christ, in the personal assurance of his complete salvation.

In the fall or early winter of 1827 Mr. and Mrs. Hamline came to Perrysburgh, Cattaraugus County, New York. It appears that Mr. Hamline was called there on legal business which detained him for a length of time.

While in that vicinity he became the subject of a new and deep religious awakening. A full account of that awakening, and of the steps and processes by which he was gradually led through great spiritual darkness into glorious light, was prepared by his own hand and published in the "Ladies' Repository" of 1843, under the title of "The Metaphysician." The narrative was introduced as written by the editor, but without any suggestion as to who the subject might be further than might have been indicated by the initial L. Both biographers have published the narrative in full, substituting the name Hamline, or the initial H., where the L. was originally used.

Rarely has there ever been written a more graphic account of the struggles of a strong and intelligent mind while passing through the great change between a condition of sinful alienation and a state of gracious acceptance with God. It deserves, in several respects, to be compared with the Confessions of

Augustine. Concerning the latter, it has been said that "they are the delineation of an extraordinary intellect, and the issue of a remarkable experience." An intelligent writer has enumerated four distinguishing characteristics of Augustine's Confessions:

1. The singular mingling of metaphysical and devotional elements.

2. The union of the most minute and exhaustive detail of sin with the most intense and spiritual abhorrence of it.

3. They palpitate with a positive love of God and goodness.

4. The insight which they afford into the origin and progress of Christian experience.

All these characteristics may be predicated of Hamline's confessions, with the added statement that they are written in a more direct style and with a much clearer appreciation of evangelical truth.

The parallel between the two men, however, may be continued in the following facts. They were both converted at about the same period in life; Hamline in his thirty-first year, Augustine in his thirty-second. Both became Bishops. Both were diligent writers. Both cherished throughout life intense views of the malignity of sin, antagonized by overwhelming views of the power of divine grace to save the believing soul. It would not be difficult to extend this comparison much further with equal credit to both the North African and the North American Bishop, who, doubtless, ere this have happily fraternized in the presence of Him to whom their souls aspired with an absorbing affection.

When saving faith sprang up in the heart of L. L. Hamline his whole life was changed. Immediately he counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ. Nor did he hesitate to lay upon the altar of God the pride of social position, home, wealth, worldly honor, and ambition.

At first he did not seem to think of becoming a minister of the Gospel, but out of the fullness of his heart his mouth began to speak, testifying of the grace of God wrought out in his own deliverance from the powers of sin and unbelief. Fruits followed. "People were convicted and converted." Although a layman, and a probationer in the Church, he was not idle as a Christian. He engaged earnestly in work for God

as he found opportunity, whether in the ordinary means of grace or at camp-meetings and protracted meetings. He still, however, continued the practice of his profession as a lawyer until

One day, while conducting a suit before a single justice, an overwhelming conviction fell upon him that he must quit the law and preach the Gospel. This he endeavored to overcome or dismiss for the time, but it returned again and again, and so embarrassed him that he was forced to shorten his argument and close his speech. Here ended his legal pleading, thenceforward to turn to the sublimer calling of "beseeching men to be reconciled to God." He received license to exhort about six months after his conversion, and license to preach at the expiration of his first year of membership, November, 1829. The balance of that year, till September, 1830, he spent in varied labor as a licentiate, wherever a providential door was opened.

Early Ministry.

L. L. Hamline's first and second appointments as a preacher were made by presiding elders, who engaged him to supply vacancies on circuits in Eastern Ohio. These engagements took him far away from his pleasant home to portions of the country recently settled. In passing from place to place he was called to sleep often in cabins, where, in the bleak winter night, he had only to draw aside the hanging blanket in order to thrust his hand between the logs into the storm without. His meager income, after meeting his necessary traveling expenses, he gave to his poorer brethren. His easy pleasure-rides he exchanged for long, tedious, and often perilous traveling, fording streams, threading forests which sometimes were not even blazed.

But of these things he took little account so long as the work of the Lord prospered. He was as yet unfamiliar with Methodistic government and usage, but his wonderful experience in coming to Christ, his powerful conviction and conversion, his naturally incisive mind, now baptized with the Holy Spirit, made all his former studies and knowledge of men available to the pulpit, while in social life he was every-where at ease.

At one of the appointments on his first circuit, while preaching with great power, his audience suddenly burst into tears, rising simultaneously to their feet. A scene of power and mercy ensued. Among the converts of the day was one who became a preacher of the Gospel.

His preaching at a camp-meeting held on the district was attended with extraordinary power. Following the meeting one hundred and thirty-eight probationers were added to the Church.

In September, 1832, he joined the Ohio Conference, and was appointed as the third or second-junior preacher on the Granville Circuit. At the Conference of 1833 he was appointed to the Athens Circuit, with the Rev. Jacob Young for his senior colleague. At the Conference of 1834 he was ordained, and appointed to Wesley Chapel, Cincinnati, as a junior preacher. Not long after his removal to that appointment he was called to mourn the loss of his wife, who had for some time been a suffering invalid. His appointment to Cincinnati was renewed in August, 1835. But in June following he was transferred to Columbus to fill an important pulpit that had unexpectedly become vacant. He then, for the first time, became a preacher in charge, or a pastor in the fullest sense; but that office he only held for three months.

Editorial Life.

By a singular train of providences Methodism has been led from its earliest organization to an active use of the press as an auxiliary of Church work. Mr. Wesley not only published books and tracts in great numbers, but a monthly magazine. His example was followed in America. But here the magazine rose in due time to become a Quarterly Review, while weekly papers became the more popular medium for diffusing religious truth and intelligence.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has not left this great interest to irresponsible parties, but from its beginning has assumed and maintained control of such publications, whether in book or periodical form, as it deemed essential to its work. Hence from time to time it has appointed leading ministers to the control of its official press.

The publication of the "Western Christian Advocate" was commenced at Cincinnati in 1834, under the editorship of Rev. Thomas A. Morris. When, in 1836, Mr. Morris was elected Bishop, Rev. Charles Elliott became his successor, with Rev. William Phillips as assistant editor. Mr. Phillips having died soon after, it devolved on the Ohio Conference to appoint

his successor. Rev. L. L. Hamline was designated for the office, and returned to Cincinnati as an editor in the autumn of 1836.

The withdrawal of such a man from the pastoral work at a time when he had become so peculiarly qualified for it was not only a great trial to the Church he was serving at Columbus, but would have been quite unjustifiable had there not been very broad and important interests to subserve by the change. Mr. Hamline seems to have been passive in the hands of the Church authorities, and not to have felt at liberty to decline the appointment, as he doubtless would have done had it required him to desist from preaching the Gospel. In point of fact, his sphere as a preacher was actually enlarged by the change, although his duties in that line could only be performed by greater effort.

In order to estimate rightly the character and extent of the work that was now put upon the subject of our notice, it is necessary to consider what religious journalism in this country was in its first stage. The "Christian Advocate" of New York was only ten years old. The "Western Christian Advocate" was in its third year, and, being a pioneer in the West, was without a corps of trained contributors. Nevertheless, it was launched during a period of exciting controversy respecting slavery and abolition, while the varied interests of aggressive evangelism, of Christian education, of temperance, and of kindred causes, were to be promoted through its agency. Such circumstances demanded great wisdom as well as labor at the hands of its editors. But Elliott and Hamline proved themselves to be eminently qualified for the position and its responsibilities. They both united unusual capacity with untiring industry, and co-operated with each other in the most perfect harmony. Both regarded the paper as an agency in diffusing the Gospel and edifying the Church; but as their editorial writing and supervision were limited to week-days, they devoted their Sabbaths to pulpit services in the city and the region round. Indeed, the ministerial services of Mr. Hamline were in such demand and so willingly rendered that he was often absent for considerable periods, preaching daily at camp meetings, in revival meetings in the churches, and in missionary efforts in destitute places. Dr. Hibbard's biography gives most interesting accounts of the extraordinary spiritual power at-

tending his ministrations during this period, showing that with his editorial life was associated a career of wide, varied, and wonderful evangelism. After stating that Mr. Hamline never lost sight of the great object of that ministry to which he held every other call in subservience, Dr. Hibbard adds:

It was computed that nearly one hundred persons dated their awakening from the sermons of Mr. Hamline on a single Sabbath in Lebanon, Ohio. Indeed, his labors were every-where attended with visible results. His sermons were marked for their system, their force of argument, pathetic appeals and vivid description, and, above all, by the power of the Holy Spirit. His manner was earnest, often impassioned, always dignified and serious, his imagination lively and chaste, combining beauty and strength with a voice of richness and melody, and his appeals often seemed irresistible. The moment he opened his lips the people intuitively felt they were in the presence of a great mind and a man of God. From every quarter came calls for help in revival labors and for extra occasions, to which he gave a joyful response to the utmost limit of his time and strength. Every-where his labors were owned of God.

A single instance, selected from several, is subjoined:

At a camp-meeting, one evening, during a heavy rain, Mr. Hamline repaired to the church, on the edge of the ground, where he found a company of eight or ten men, who had retreated there to escape the rain, and were lying on the benches. He immediately began to exhort them with affectionate earnestness and power. The Spirit of God fell on the auditors, who yielded and sought the Lord. Before morning they were all happily converted to God.

At the period under review his mind was greatly drawn toward foreign mission work, particularly in France, the land of his ancestors. The subject of a mission from our Church to that country was then under official consideration, and, had it been decided on, there is little doubt that Mr. Hamline would have been appointed to it. But, although not called to enter a foreign field, his zeal in behalf of missions developed itself in a most practical and influential form in connection with the establishment of a German religious press in Cincinnati, and in the encouragement of evangelical effort in behalf of Germans, both in America and Europe. On this point Dr. Nast, the apostle of German Methodism, has spoken emphatically:

In private and in public I have often tried to express my gratitude for what, under God, we Germans owe to that great man of

God. Bishop Hamline, in the darkest days of my penitential struggle, when I was on the point to give it up, presented the Gospel to me with the power of a new charm and inspired me again with hope. During the first two years of my ministry, when I labored as a missionary in Cincinnati, I had the privilege of being every day in his company, and from him I learned, more than from any other source, how to attack successfully the skepticism of my countrymen. He was my pattern in preaching and in writing.

As to the mission of our Church among the Germans, which God has crowned with such glorious results, I am confident it would never have been taken hold of in earnest had it not been for the soul-stirring and convincing appeals of Bishop Hamline to the Church. It was his eloquent advocacy to which the "Apologist" chiefly owes its existence; but he not only induced others to give, but, with his well-known liberality, he contributed out of his own ample means for the support of the German Mission work, and the building of a number of German churches.

No part of the Church was more deeply afflicted than the German ministry when Bishop Hamline felt compelled, on account of his physical debility and suffering, to resign his episcopal office. The Germans felt as though they had lost a father indeed. O, how deeply engraven are his episcopal addresses on the hearts of the older German preachers!

Mr. Hamline soon entered upon a new and more congenial sphere of editorial life. By the General Conference of 1840 he was again appointed assistant editor of the "Western Christian Advocate," and prospective editor of the "Ladies' Repository." Consequently, on him devolved the task of founding a monthly magazine under that title, which, notwithstanding the embarrassments incident to a new literary enterprise in the West, soon rose to an important position in the literature of the Church. Dr. Hibbard very properly speaks of the "Repository" as giving a wider scope to Mr. Hamline's literary and classical taste, as well as to the outreaching of his spiritual life. Of his style and skill as an editor of such a magazine, the following statement is justly made:

> He possessed the true enthusiasm which warmed and animated whatever theme he took. In his hands common events assumed a new interest, not only by the illusive dress of fiction, but by the discovery of new and higher relations, while the crowning charm of his writings proceeds from the high moral end for which he wrote, and the inbreathed and living desire to save souls. Preaching or writing, he had this one object in view and uppermost. This was no detriment to literary taste or merit, but

gave to both a more exalted standard and refinement. Nor was his skill in engaging others to work inferior to his own ability to execute.

It was during his editorship of the "Repository" that Mr. Hamline entered upon that higher phase of religious experience known among Methodists as the blessing of perfect love or entire sanctification. A chapter is given to the subject by each of his biographers, inclusive of many quotations from his own pen. The details are full of interest and instruction to devout minds. The results are briefly set forth in the following quotations:

A new life now dawned upon him. Not one without clouds, temptations, and sore wrestlings, but one in which over all these he was to have victory. He could now say, as never before:

> "Now I have found the ground wherein
> Sure my soul's anchor may remain."

With a body afflicted little less than that of Paul with his "thorn in the flesh," with a nervous structure which even in health would be subject to great alternations, and with a life of intense labor, and the antagonisms of this "evil world," a perpetually "quiet sea" was not to be expected. His exquisite sensitiveness often occasioned him sorrow and temptation where a common mind would experience no embarrassment.

The great baptism amazingly quickened his love for souls and his ardent zeal to save them. In his diary for November 26, 1842, he says: "I feel as though I had come to the verge of heaven. I have had sad dreams, but am happy now, filled with weeping and praise. I feel like one who has been wrecked at sea and has got into the long-boat. Persons are sinking all around, and he clutches them by the hair. So I see souls are sinking. I feel in a hurry to save them. And it matters not what I eat or what I wear, or who are my companions, for when I have rowed a few miles I shall get home and shall find all my friends there."

He says, somewhat later:

"Within less than three months I have enjoyed the privileges of attending some eight or ten protracted meetings, at each of which there was a glorious display of God's saving power." Does the reader ask how he could, under such circumstances, not only give satisfaction, but win reputation, as the editor of the "Ladies' Repository?" He answers the question in part: "My labors are heavy. I take my papers often into the country, and write *between preachings*." He was a ready and rapid writer. When his mind was roused and concentrated, and that was as often as

duty demanded and health permitted, after the first dictation little was left for critical review.

In the midst of labors beyond his strength, and which he afterward admits laid the foundation of his premature infirmities and his retirement from public life, with a popularity which exposed him to envious criticism, and with the two mightiest social forces in his hands—the pulpit and the press—one might well fear for his humility. But to him selfish ambition was unknown. For himself he sought nothing, desired nothing; for Christ, every thing. His deadness to the world and his self-abnegation were almost startling, even to his friends. His views of natural depravity and the malignity of sin in the light of the divine law left him in utter amazement at that divine love which had borne with his life of unbelief so long, and had multiplied such boundless "grace upon grace" in his redemption.

As a pendant to the foregoing remarks from Dr. Hibbard, we quote a few sentences from a letter written by Dr. Elliott after Bishop Hamline's death, in 1865. This extract will show that the peculiar experience of Mr. Hamline in 1842 was not temporary, but lasting, continuing to the very end of his life:

My pen is wholly incompetent to draw out in its full extent an adequate portrait of his high and holy character, whether it regards his natural talents or his extensive attainments, but especially the sanctity and purity of his religious life in theory, experience, and practical utility. He enjoyed, to the full extent, entire sanctification in all its experience and practical exemplifications. He was thoroughly scriptural and Wesleyan in all respects on this fundamental point. So clearly did he expound it to others in conversation, preaching, and writing, that many were led to experience it through his teaching and prayers.

While he was thoroughly Wesleyan and scriptural in this way of holiness, he was instrumental in teaching its great truths to ministers of other Churches. Many of them, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Episcopalians, were brought to the full enjoyment of this privilege of the sons of God through his instructions and prayers.

During the year 1843, and the early months of 1844, Mr. Hamline continued both his editorial and evangelical labors with quickened zeal, though with declining health. Several times he was laid aside by severe illness, but no sooner did partial recovery allow than he was again at his post.

Election to the Episcopal Office.

The election of L. L. Hamline to the office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church was a spontaneous tribute to

superior ability and obvious adaptation to the exigencies of the Church in a critical period of its history. It had not been prearranged by his friends, nor anticipated by himself. It was not the result of wire-pulling, canvassing, or bargaining. It was, in fact, a result born of an occasion and produced in the only manner that could have been in harmony with his sense of honor and of right.

Up to the last moment his physical ability to attend the General Conference of 1844 had been questioned by his physicians. He ventured to leave home in hope that his health would be improved by the journey to New York. The result in that respect justified his hopes. He was, therefore, enabled to take his seat in the body to which he had been elected as a delegate in September preceding.

Although deeply interested in the proceedings, he for a considerable time modestly shrank from any prominent participation in them, purposing to do his duty by his votes. But after having witnessed for days the struggle between the opponents of slavery and their antagonists, and having seen the growing mystification in which the special issue in the case of the slaveholding Bishop Andrew was becoming involved, he decided to take a part in the discussion.

Dr. (now Bishop) J. T. Peck has described the scene:

> In the midst of the great debate he rose and addressed the chair. He was promptly recognized, and from the first sentence it was evident that the question, so involved and far-reaching, was in the hands of a master. His positions were logically perfect, without a word to spare, and yet, in rhetoric and oratory, as fine as if intended for popular entertainment. The tones of his voice were new to many of us, and they were actually enchanting. All noise in the vast assemblage ceased; and he seemed as if alone with God, uttering thoughts and arguments of inspiration. "True, true, every word of it true," we would say, without speaking, (no one would have dared to speak or move;) "conclusive, splendid, demonstrative, irresistible!" The last sentence was finished; the speaker quietly resumed his seat; a thousand people drew a long breath; and the great issue was logically settled.

While no abstract can give any just idea of such a speech as a whole, yet it seems proper to say that its strength lay in convincing demonstrations of the following propositions:

Executive authority in the Methodist Episcopal Church has

power to remove or depose any officer on the ground of improper conduct.

Bishops and officers of the Church are subject to the executive authority of the General Conference by which they are appointed and to which they are amenable:

Therefore, 1. The General Conference has power to depose a Bishop who has by any act rendered himself unacceptable to the Church in the character of a general superintendent.

2. Its obligation to depose an offending Bishop is increased by the eminence and responsibility of his office.

The conclusion of the address was designed to clinch the conclusion of the syllogism. It here follows in part:

A Bishop's influence is not like a preacher's or class-leader's. It is diffused, like the atmosphere, every-where. So high a Church officer should be willing to endure not slight sacrifices for this vast connection. What could tempt you, sir, to trouble and wound the Church all through, from center to circumference? The preacher and the class-leader, whose influence is guarded against so strongly, can do little harm—a Bishop infinite. Their improper acts are motes in the air; yours are a pestilence abroad in the earth. Is it more important to guard against those than against these? Heaven forbid! Like the concealed attractions of the heavens, we expect a Bishop's influence to be all-abiding every-where; in the heights and in the depths, in the center and on the verge, of this great system ecclesiastical. If instead of *con*centric and harmonizing movements, such as are wholesome and conservative and beautifying, we observe in him irregularities which, however harmless in others, will be disastrous or fatal in him, the energy of this body, constitutionally supreme, must instantly reduce him to order; or, if that may not be, plant him in another and a distant sphere. When the Church is about to suffer a detriment which we by constitutional power can avert, it is as much *treason in us not to exercise the power we have, as to usurp in other circumstances that which we have not.*

From and after the delivery of that speech, as was well said by Dr. J. T. Peck, "all could see that the clearness of his intellect, the meekness and humility of his bearing, and the grace of his movements, fitted him for high official rank, and promised extraordinary executive ability."

Scarcely less in the light of those facts, than as an indorsement of his clear and strong views of the office and responsibility of Bishops in the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the spontaneous movement made which resulted a few days later

in his own election to that very office. Such a result both startled and humbled him. Dr. Hibbard says:

As a human call he would have at once declined the honor, but the circumstances of the case were so extraordinary, and the exercises of his mind so strongly corroborative of the hand of God in all, that he bowed in humble submission. The office had sought him, not he the office.

At a subsequent period he himself wrote:

At the General Conference in 1844, most unexpectedly to myself, (and to nearly all, I believe,) I was elected to the superintendency. A translation in the chariot of Elijah would not have overtaken me much more unexpectedly. My struggles were peculiar, and yet I found evidence that I was *called to this ministry.*

Episcopal Administration.

To him the will of God was supreme law and supreme delight. He contemplated the episcopacy from the spiritual stand-point, and entered upon it with the single aim to the salvation of souls and the sanctification of the Church. His past life had been a preparatory discipline, and his great baptism in 1842 the qualification of power for this strange and unexpected work. Not the least of his evidences and his consolations was the common and hearty approval of the Church at large.

He entered upon the presidency of successive Conferences without delay, and, although subject to violent attacks of illness, he was, nevertheless, enabled to fulfill his entire round of official obligations during a series of years. In Dr. Palmer's life those years are made the subjects of successive chapters, in which his travels from Conference to Conference and his engagements in the line of evangelical work are presented in detail, free use being made of his own diary and letters. Dr. Hibbard separates the topics of his episcopal administration and evangelical labors, and judiciously condenses his diary and correspondence.

From both volumes, as well as from what is remembered by many living persons, it is evident that Bishop Hamline took no narrow view of the brief and technical items in which our Discipline states the duties of Bishops. He did not conceive that merely traveling across the country in railroad cars, and presiding at Conferences, by any means fulfilled the spirit of

those requirements. He understood the word "travel" as the equivalent of itinerate in the character of a minister of the Gospel, whose duty the Discipline elsewhere enjoins in phrases like these: "You have nothing to do but to save souls; therefore spend and be spent in this work." "Observe, it is not your business only to preach so many times, and to take care of this or that Society, but to save as many as you can, to bring as many sinners as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord." Hence, he devoted the intervals of Conference sessions to visits among the Churches and people, stirring them up, both publicly and socially, to zeal and activity in the divine life. No one that knew or even met him failed to be impressed with the fact that he endeavored to wield the full amount, both of his personal and official influence, as an agency for honoring God and promoting the salvation of men. As said by his last biographer:

> His one absorbing object was to awaken the ministry and the Churches to the higher claims of their holy calling, and to reach out a hand of rescue to the perishing. His summer months were spent in attending Annual Conferences, and his winters in visiting the Churches.

Bishop Hamline's bearing in Annual Conferences was distinguished for a wonderful combination of dignity and humility. He had the great art of securing promptness and order in the dispatch of business, without any bustle or show of authority. He also had the greater talent of diffusing over a deliberative body that calm thoughtfulness and spirit of prayer, without which the standing direction of our Discipline concerning deportment at the Conferences is never fulfilled: "It is desired that all things be considered on these occasions as in the immediate presence of God."

Dr. Hibbard says:

> His eye was ever watchful of the devotional and charitable spirit of the Conference. Often at the appearance of uncharitableness or levity, he would arrest business, and, in his own inimitable way, address the brethren briefly, calling them lovingly to watchfulness and prayer, and then propose a brief season of prayer, calling on the brother aggrieved, or perhaps the one offending, to pray.

Such influences could only be exerted by a man of great spiritual power. That Bishop Hamline was enabled to exert them was one of the happy fruits of his deep religious experience and of his habitual life of devotion. The results proved that such a life in no way diminished, but rather increased, his administrative ability in the difficult circumstances through which he was often called to guide his Conferences. The earlier period of his episcopal service was one of intense excitement, caused by the agitation of the times, especially along the borders of the newly organized Southern Church. Perhaps no more exciting scene ever took place in an Annual Conference than that in which he relieved Bishop Soule from the chair, in the Ohio Conference of 1845. The circumstances are fully stated by Dr. Hibbard, but we have only space for Dr. Cyrus Brooks' description of the scene:

A large portion of the Conference had risen to their feet, and some members, I think, had left the house. The critical moment had arrived, and it seemed that the next instant must bring hopeless confusion. Just at that instant Bishop Hamline stepped upon the platform. I can never forget his appearance. Twenty years have not dimmed the recollection of it in the least. It was full of animation, yet calm, commanding, majestic. No human movement ever so impressed me with the idea of irresistible power. It was power, too, wielded with consummate skill, and for a most beneficent end. I have seen him in some of his happiest moments, in some of the loftiest flights of his sublime eloquence, but I never saw him appear to so good advantage as then. He seemed to me almost more than man.

As he came forward he said that there were times when it became necessary to waive all considerations of mere courtesy, and exercise the authority with which one was intrusted. Such a time had come, and it was clearly his duty now to interpose. As he said this he waved his hand to the temporary chairman at his left, who instantly obeyed the signal and gave place. Bishop Hamline took his seat, order was immediately restored, and business resumed its usual course. A few minutes afterward a stranger entering the house would not have suspected that any thing unusual had occurred in the Conference. So sudden and so complete was the restoration of order and confidence, that one could hardly help thinking of the time when the Master said to the tumultuous waves of Gennesaret, "Peace, be still," and there was a great calm.

It was not long until the lofty form of Bishop Soule was seen moving toward the door, with his portfolio under his arm and his hat in his hand. He disappeared, and was seen among us no more.

Bishop Hamline as a Preacher.

The brief notices already given of his early ministry have shown that from the first an extraordinary influence attended his declarations of gospel truth. That kind of influence continued throughout the period of his episcopate. Wherever he went and whenever he preached, he was heard with profound and solemn interest. He did not limit his pulpit efforts to great occasions, but was as ready to preach to few as to many; nevertheless, his capacity to bring vast assemblies under the spell of the sublimest eloquence has been rarely equaled. His appearance when before an audience was that of perfect calmness and self-possession. He used few gestures, and no vociferation, but as he proceeded to present the great themes of the gospel in an easy but lucid style, clinching his positions with invulnerable logic, he impressed his hearers not only as a man having intimate communion with God, but as having in himself vast resources of intellectual and spiritual power. His emotions were not of the coruscating type. They did not blaze along the sky, like meteors. They rather heaved and swelled, like a suppressed but moving earthquake.

His habits as a preacher were formed during the six years of his itinerant ministry. It was never his custom to read or recite sermons to a congregation. In his preparations for pulpit address he wrote diligently, and thus acquired a style of peculiar transparency, precision, and force. Yet his writing was for self-discipline in the development and memorization of thought. In preparing for argumentative discussions, he carefully elaborated his definitions and propositions. In a few instances, and for special objects, he wrote out sermons at length, and thus became prepared to deliver them with more confidence and completeness. All his preparations were thus made auxiliary to effective extemporaneous preaching.

Dr. Hibbard says:

> His imagination was not gorgeous, not copious; his taste, no less than his "godly sincerity," would have excluded all excess and dazzle. He was not a poet, but an orator, and his imagination described and illustrated rather than invented, and diffused an exquisite tinge of beauty over all his utterances.
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> "His elocution," says Dr. Lowrey, "was perfect. His voice—how could the Creator have improved it? like the key-note of

well-composed music, just right. Soft, mellow, full, rich in its grave accents, clear and insinuating in its higher inflections, tenderly impassioned and melting in its minor and sympathetic tones, it possessed the power of self-adjustment to every word, syllable, and sound of his sentences. I heard him speak twenty years ago, and to-day many of his words, and his mode of uttering them, live in my mind with all the vividness that belongs to the memories of yesterday. This I attribute largely to the enchanting effect of his elocution."

In his introduction to Bishop Hamline's works, Dr. Hibbard also gives this additional sketch, which is the more valuable from its historic comparisons:

It is not easy to do justice to his character without exaggeration on the one hand, or disparagement on the other. His individuality is so marked that, after all comparisons, he must stand alone. He possessed the enthusiasm, but not the frenzy, of Whitefield and Chalmers. He was more terse and pointed than Robert Hall, with less polish, and with an imagination and an order of intellect of superior adaptations to the ends of oratory. . . . The flow of his utterances was like the swell of the river current, more deep than rapid, yet moving on without interruption or commotion, always majestic, often quickened, like hurrying waters impatient of restraint, but never like the wild rush of the cataract. In this he contrasted with Olin. Hamline was impassioned, never boisterous—Olin was vehement; Hamline was earnest—Olin impetuous; Hamline was like the even, though often rapid, flow of a beautiful stream, bearing its buoyant burden safely and gracefully onward—Olin was like the torrent, or the whirlwind, hurrying all before it. With him the hurricane was inevitable, but he rode upon it in majesty, and, like the spirit of the storm, directed all its forces. Hamline never suffered the storm to arise, but checked it midway, and if the sweep and force of his eloquence were less, the auditors were left more self-controlled, and the practical ends not less salutary. With the rising inspiration of his theme, his dark, clear eye gathered new luster and emitted the fire of his thought, his countenance became suffused with the internal glow of his soul, and his whole person was animate with the genius of his subject.

It is a matter of no small interest, especially to students and young ministers, that a public speaker of such extraordinary power as Bishop Hamline has left on record in one of his published addresses, his own well-developed theory of eloquence. That address was delivered in 1836, but was not made accessible to general readers until the publication of the second volume of Hamline's works in 1871. That address, well studied,

can hardly fail to be of great value to many a young man desirous of qualifying himself to become eloquent in the advocacy of Christian truth and duty. It should, however, be taken in connection with the author's well-known theory that no eloquence can avail for the highest ends of the Christian ministry that is not vitalized by the deep pathos born of intense conviction, and nourished by intimate communion with the source of spiritual power. This our subject possessed in a high degree, and to it must be attributed a great measure of the success he had in winning souls to Christ, and to the higher Christian life.

A remarkable illustration of this occurred after his health had been completely shattered. It was at a grove-meeting which he had arranged for the benefit of his neighbors while residing near Schenectady. "At the closing service," wrote Dr. Carhart, "the Bishop arose, and, though scarcely able to stand without assistance, made an application of the sermon, and an appeal to the people, such as I have never heard equaled. The Holy Ghost fell on us. Weeping was heard in every direction in the vast assembly; sobs and cries for mercy followed; and, as the speaker continued, and even before the invitation was given, penitents crowded around the rude altar, and the whole assembly, rising to their feet, seemed drawn toward the speaker, and to melt like wax before the fire. When the invitation was given to those seeking Christ to come forward, it seemed to me that the whole audience moved simultaneously, while some actually ran and threw themselves prostrate upon the ground, and cried, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!' The memory of that scene can never be effaced from my mind."

Bishop Hamline as a Writer.

Many an eloquent preacher has ceased to be a power in the Church and in the world when his voice has been silenced by disease or death. Others, who have enlisted the press as an auxiliary to their work, have been able to speak on to successive generations. Of this number Bishop Hamline was an eminent example, the more conspicuous from the fact that so few of his contemporaries in the heroic age of Methodism did likewise. It is proper, however, to say that he never neglected or left his primary work to become an author. When officially

appointed by the Church to an editorial chair he improved his opportunity as a means of increasing his Christian and ministerial influence, as well as of serving the Church whose call he obeyed. With this high end in view, many of his articles became from the first permanently valuable. Not a few of them have been preserved by appreciative readers in the volumes of the "Ladies' Repository," and handed down as heir-looms to their households. It is no less in the line of good taste than of a good providence that the more important of those articles have now been taken out of their serial form and placed side by side in the beautiful volumes already named.

Those of Hamline's works that are presented in this permanent form, although of limited extent, deserve to be ranked in the highest grade of American theological literature. The first volume, being filled with sermons, will be most read by ministers. Special attention may be called to a series of three on the "Depravity of the Heart," also to those on "The Seen and the Unseen," "Delight in the House of God," "The Incarnation and the Immutability of Christ." In reading the sermons named we have marked many passages as of superior excellence. But lack of space forbids their insertion. The second volume of Hamline's works contains forty-eight sketches and plans of sermons, five public addresses, and seventeen theological essays. These various articles, having been selected on the ground of intrinsic excellence, are all worthy of perusal, if not of study. The sermon sketches cover an ample variety of subjects and style of address, and may serve as suggestive examples of a class of productions of which every preacher must prepare many.

Of the public addresses of the author, that on "Eloquence," and that delivered in the General Conference of 1844 on "The Case of Bishop Andrew," deserve to be read and re-read. Another, on "The Church of God," delivered during the Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, in 1839, is long and able. That on "The Grave," delivered at the opening of a cemetery, is a model for such a rare occasion.

Of the theological essays, those on Holiness, Faith, The New Birth, Arminianism, and The Holy Ghost, are the most important.

Resignation of the Episcopal Office.

The facts relating to this decisive step are fully related and described in the twenty-second chapter of Dr. Hibbard's biography, which opens with the following statement:

> The year 1852 marks an epoch, not only in the life of Bishop Hamline, but in the history of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church as well. In that year, at the General Conference held in Boston, Mass., Bishop Hamline tendered his resignation as Bishop, and retired to the rank of a superannuated elder of the Ohio Conference. The doctrine of the Church as to the nature of our episcopacy had always been that it was an *office*, and not a distinct clerical *order;* but no act or precedent had ever occurred to give it practical and administrative sanction. Aside from ecclesiastical considerations, the spiritual loss to the Church by the retirement of such a man from the episcopacy was accepted with universal regret as a common affliction. The simple and only ground of his retirement was want of health.

The significance of the Bishop's resignation was heightened by the discussions which took place respecting it on the floor of the General Conference. From the whole tenor of those discussions, it was obvious that a request to be retired as a superannuated Bishop would have better accorded with the feelings of the Conference. But such a course did not comport with Bishop Hamline's stern views of propriety in his own case. Hence his resignation was unequivocal. When that fact became apparent, a reluctant consent was accorded and he was honorably released from the responsiblities of the office conferred upon him by the action of a previous General Conference.

So far, this is the only case of resignation of the episcopal office that has occurred in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1836 Dr. Wilbur Fisk was elected to that office, but as he declined episcopal ordination he was never considered a Bishop. Bishop Hamline had received the ordination and exercised the office during eight consecutive years. He then, under a sense of duty, surrendered his certificate of ordination and retired to the ecclesiastical position he had occupied before his episcopal election. The formal approval of that act by the General Conference made the precedent complete.

In the eminent example that has now passed under review there is not only instruction for Bishops, present and future, but for ministers and Christians in every grade and circumstance of human duty and trial. In Bishop Hamline's life it is seen that the greatness of the man and the nobleness and purity of his Christian character were not dependent upon his office. The office was an accident, taken up and laid down as occasion required. The man, the Christian, and the minister preceded and followed it. The office, indeed, secured great and peculiar opportunities of usefulness, but it required the highest style of a man and a Christian to improve them to the *maximum*.

Last Days.

After all that Bishop Hamline was able to accomplish by diligent and self-denying action in the days of his strength, it may be questioned whether the greatest triumph of his life was not accomplished by his patient endurance of affliction, when it fell to his lot to be withdrawn into the privacy and solitudes of suffering. That he found in such scenes the abiding and cheering presence of the sympathizing Saviour and the sanctifying Spirit to be equal to his extremest need, is a fact adapted to encourage every afflicted child of God. Few in any sphere of life have ever been called to endure greater or more protracted physical distresses. Although a man of robust frame, he became in middle life the subject of an alarming disease of the heart. Notwithstanding repeated admonitions of danger from physicians, he sternly nerved himself up to meet every call of duty so long as he might be able. During his whole period of episcopal service he was subject to attacks of illness so violent and protracted that they would have paralyzed the efforts of ordinary men; but he went steadily forward, meeting his Conferences and preaching among the Churches to the full limit of his strength. When released from official responsibilities, it was not to rest, but to retire and suffer, without the faintest hope of recovery. While death would have been a happy release at any moment, yet he was willing to wait all the days of his appointed time, though each added day brought its allotment of pain and trial.

It pleased God to prolong his life during thirteen years, not

only of invalidity, but of ever-increasing physical distress. As he could no longer do the will of God in active service, he saw it to be alike his privilege and his duty to suffer that will in the furnace of affliction. That he did do so with the meekness of a disciple and the faith of a martyr is obvious from the records of his life during that period. In all Christian biography there are few if any more edifying examples of joy in sorrow and triumph in tribulation.

In 1856 he removed to Mount Pleasant, Iowa, where, in the neighborhood of his cherished friends, Dr. Elliott, Z. H. Coston, and others, he spent the remainder of his days.

His last words were, "This is wonderful suffering, but it is nothing to what my Saviour endured on the cross for me." Thus in the thought of the cross of Christ he triumphed over the last enemy.

Bishop Hamline's Christian life is open to imitation from all. In other spheres but few can follow him. But in the great matters of complete consecration, of earnest attention to the means of grace, and of simple trusting faith in the atoning Saviour, the humblest child of God may do likewise, in the confidence of obtaining similar divine favor, in life, in death, and in eternity.

Art. II.—OUR PACIFIC COAST PROBLEM.

The Chinese in America. By O. Gibson. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.
Certain Phases of the Chinese Question. By John F. Miller. In March number of "The Californian." San Francisco.

Agitating the social fabric of the Pacific slope from Southern California to British Columbia, and from the ocean to the desert, is the momentous question, "What shall be done with the Chinaman?" It enters into all our political and business discussions; it invades our courts, our schools, and our religious assemblies; it finds its way into our homes, around table and fireside, and even into our secret chambers, as an ever-present, ever-disturbing factor in our lives. Thus far, and in its immediate local bearings, is the "Chinese question" the special problem of the Pacific coast; but above this, and in its higher and absolute relations, it is not a question belonging alone to

the Pacific, but reaching across to the Atlantic, extending northward and southward, and finally comprehending the American people in its embrace. It is a national question of gigantic proportions, demanding the highest wisdom and best integrity of our statesmen to give it an adequate, just, and ultimate settlement.

It so touches upon our relations with a foreign government, an extensive commerce, a time-honored policy of our own, and upon the matter of human brotherhood and equality of natural rights, that only the nation in its highest representative capacity can properly dispose of it. California and sister States of the Pacific are incompetent to frame legislation designed to abrogate articles of the Burlingame Treaty, either by the expulsion of the Chinese, or by depriving them of the rights of residence and labor. When the settlement comes it must needs be by federal authority, and in accordance with the enlightened moral sentiment of the nation. To reach that result and render that settlement both just and final, may take more time and cost more than any of us now anticipate. Whether we shall reach a peaceful solution of the problem, or reach it only at the end of another race war, depends mainly on the relative strength of forces, good and evil, struggling for mastery in our social and political system. If the bitter lessons of the past have been sufficiently learned, then shall we not need the chastisement of another internecine war to make us comprehend the designs of Providence, and follow on to the attainment of our destiny among the nations of the earth. It is not venturing too much to assert that the righteous sentiment of the American people demands a settlement in accordance with truth and justice, and that any solution upon the basis of race prejudice, false assumptions, and the misrepresentations of facts, must, in the affairs of men, meet reversal in the supreme court of the heavens, and share the fate of Judge Taney's decision against the colored man.

Before the writer are the two literary productions whose titles are given above. As they present the Chinese Question from opposite stand-points, so are their conclusions diametrically opposed. "The Chinese in America," a neat volume of some four hundred pages, has been noticed, read, reviewed, and assigned its place as a reliable authority on the subject of

which it treats. Ten years of missionary labor in China, and more than that length of time among the Chinese in America, as missionary and teacher, have given Dr. Gibson abundant opportunities for observation of the character and habits of this strange people. More than twenty years of acquaintance with their language, customs, and peculiarities, ought to be something of a guarantee that he knew whereof he wrote; while his high standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the repeatedly expressed confidence of that respectable body of men, the California Conference, would conclusively attest that he has not misrepresented the facts. With full acceptance of the doctrines of divine Providence, human brotherhood, and the power of the Gospel to save and civilize all men, he has written from the Christian stand-point, and, presenting the facts to a Christian public, calmly waits for a Christian verdict.

"Certain Phases of the Chinese Question" appeared as a magazine article in the March number of "The Californian," this present year, and at once received the most favorable notice from the anti-Chinese press and politicians of the nation. General Miller, a gentleman well known in the social and military circles of San Francisco, appears as the representative of a very large, influential, and highly respectable class of people on the Pacific coast, who hold that the presence of the Chinese is a great detriment to the country, and that their immigration should be stopped. As to the stand-point from which General Miller views the case we are left somewhat in the dark; but from his remark that the "two civilizations which have here met . . . are each the result of evolution under contrariant conditions," and similar expressions, we are led to infer that the "evolution theory" is a favorite with him, while some of his concluding sentences, setting forth that peaceful resistance of Mongolian invasion (!) is simply "to preserve this land for our people and their posterity forever, and hold republican government and free institutions in trust for Anglo-Saxon posterity," imply that he accepts that venerable formula, "This is a white man's government," as a substantial article of his political faith. Be that as it may, the phases, facts, and conclusions presented by him are deserving of respectful consideration; the value of his opinions as those of an ordinary, and perhaps superficial, observer of Chinese character and habits, and his

general positions as compared with those of Dr. Gibson, are deserving of further reference in these pages.

The Elements of the Problem.

Within the embrace of this Pacific-coast problem, at least four elements prominently present themselves, and must needs be taken into account in the solution thereof. These are:

1. The number and character of the Chinese in America.

2. The origin, extent, and grounds of the anti-Chinese sentiment.

3. The doctrine of human brotherhood, and the time-honored American policy of open doors for all to enter.

4. Reciprocity relations, and their necessary operation.

(1.) As to the number and character of these strangers, something must be said at the outset. Thirty years have passed since the first Chinaman landed on these shores. During that period there has been no restriction placed on their immigration; they have come and gone freely; and yet, with all the inducements commonly supposed to be tempting them hither, and after all these years, according to carefully kept statistics of our Custom House and the Chinese "Six Companies," less than 150,000 of them are to be found in the whole United States of America.

Moreover, within the last four years there has been a marked decrease rather than increase in their numbers; they have come by hundreds, but have gone by thousands. Recent issues of the San Francisco dailies apprise us of the loss of 7,000 of this population within a recent period; yet Mr. Miller, and the press generally on this coast, would have us believe that Chinese immigration pours in like an ever-increasing flood, threatening to swamp our civilization and whole social system in a very short time. A yearly influx of 150,000 or more people from Europe appears to create no alarm, but seems rather a most wonderful benison to poor America!

It may be remarked in this connection that the heaviest immigration of Chinese took place in 1852, when 20,026 arrived in California; it may be further remarked, that according to the rate of increase of the thirty years past, it would take about two hundred and fifty years for America to gain a Chinese population of one million! But, according to Mr. Miller's

own estimate of the increase of our white population, we shall, in sixty years, without the aid of immigration, have one hundred and eighty millions of people. One would suppose we might be able to take care of a few hundred thousand inferior (?) Chinamen almost any day in our future.

But allowing, as he justly claims, that from the over-crowded population of the single province of Canton, millions could be spared and their loss not felt, what evidence is there that any exodus will take place? Mr. Gibson makes the point that their clannishness, provincial feuds, and hatreds, are a pretty sure safeguard against the coming of any but those of the dialect already here, while traditional policy and disinclination to move must for generations serve to keep the masses of the Chinese people at home.

And suppose they do come according to the openings for employment found here, and suppose they do make openings for each other, and invest their little capital in business enterprises in this country, what of that? Have not Americans, Jews, Turks, and the enterprising people of this world generally, done that same thing, and pushed themselves into employments and business openings wherever there has been a chance, whether wanted or not by the native races? Or has the noble Anglo-Saxon at last found such a superior in economy and successful business habits that he must adopt the cast-off policy of exclusion toward one of the nations of the earth?

As to the object of the Chinese in coming to America, and their general character and behavior while here, the opinions of the wise differ quite materially. It would seem probable, however, that they have come without the least idea of invasion, colonization, or the acquisition of the Pacific coast as a province of the Chinese Empire, and that they have the sole purpose of bettering their financial condition. Other people, many of them, appear to have come for the same sordid purpose!

They are usually represented as the most vicious, immoral, filthy, and corrupt people in the world, without conscience or moral sense; but in almost the next breath their enemies pronounce them the most frugal, industrious, patient, painstaking and persevering people on earth. How both pictures may be correct it might puzzle a philosopher to explain. Certain it is that the Chinese have brought their stupid gods and heathen

customs to this Christian land; true it is that many of them are gamblers, thieves, and desperadoes of the worst kind; true, also, that some of them carry on an accursed traffic in human flesh—young girls and women are bought and sold by these monsters, and used and abused for the vilest purposes. But these things cannot be said of the mass of the Chinese in America, and their enemies know it. The merchants, artisans, and common laborers of that race, as a general rule, commend themselves as honest, peaceable, and law-abiding inhabitants of the country. Our missionaries and merchants in China, and America as well, sustain this statement by almost unfailing testimony. By reason of their docility, obedience, and reliability as laborers, they have won their way into thousands of places on the Pacific coast.

Their wonderful capability for acquiring our language, arts, and industries, is well understood, and their astuteness, skill, and imitative genius, render them formidable competitors of the white man. There is scarce any thing that the latter does which the Chinaman seems incapable of doing, and the chances are that, after a few trials, he will do it with more deftness and dispatch than his instructor. Their race is inferior only in point of civilization, and in that only because an inferior, a pagan, religion, has cursed their land for ages, while Christianity, born of heaven and endued with divine power, has produced and nurtured the civilization of the European and American families of men. Let the leaven of the Gospel and the light of God's word permeate the dead, stagnant masses of Chinese ignorance and superstition; let contact with foreign nations go on; let modern ideas and Christian faith enter into more vigorous conflict with venerable philosophy and a worn-out pagan theology; give the Chinese people a few of the opportunities we have so long enjoyed, and then look for a race and nation taking rank with the foremost on the face of the earth. Such are the Chinese, and such their character and capabilities.

The Anti-Chinese Sentiment.

Opposition to the Chinese had its origin years ago, when that people first began to appear in our mining regions as competitors of white laborers. They could well afford to work for less than the extravagant prices current at that time. They

took the worn-out "claims" abandoned by white miners, and made themselves rich by their untiring industry. Hence the "Foreign Miners' Tax" was imposed to check their operations, and collected of no other foreigners.

As the capabilities of our soil and climate for fruit-bearing and general agriculture became known, they again became active competitors of the white laborers, insomuch that they were willing to work for more reasonable wages, and proved more constant, obedient, and reliable. While it became the custom of the ordinary field hands to demand high wages for the busy seasons, then lie around taverns and saloons till their earnings were gone, the Chinese toiled on constantly, willing to work for almost nothing rather than be idle and on expense. When the Central Pacific Railroad was in process of construction again was there demand for their service, and soon they proved themselves more available railroad builders than any white laborers the railroad company could afford to employ. And when, in development of our splendid resources, certain manufacturing enterprises were entered upon, once more capital was glad to avail itself of their patient industry and rapidly acquired skill. Multitudes of business men have testified that none of these enterprises would have been possible for years to come had it not been for the presence of the Chinese.

Meantime, the opposition to their so-called cheap labor and reduction of prices, originating with the common laborers of America, but chiefly of European birth, was gaining strength; and, inasmuch as the one class of laborers had *votes* and the other had none, politicians, newspapers, and political parties, added fuel to the flame, while Jesuitical bigotry in the background was ever active in rousing race prejudice and fomenting class hatred. A marked revulsion in business came on in 1874, and financial depression settled down upon the State. There set in a reaction from the wild speculation, extravagance, and high prices of earlier years. A crash came when the Bank of California failed, and soon all classes began to feel the pressure of "hard times." The industrious middle classes—mechanics, artisans, and tradesmen—found employment more difficult to secure; values depreciated, and building enterprises and property investments almost entirely ceased. Meanwhile, the Chinese, more economical than others, toiled on, steadily

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filling their places as cooks, laundrymen, common and skilled laborers. In the general depression and discontent it is somewhat natural that public attention should have been turned to them, and the opposition greatly extended and intensified. At length it took shape and crystallized itself in the "Workingman's Movement," whose motto has ever been, "The Chinese must go!" Largely in obedience to that movement a new Constitution was framed and adopted by the State of California, and at the first general election under its operation, held September 3, 1879, the electors of the State were required by gubernatorial proclamation to vote on the question of "Chinese immigration." As might have been expected, the verdict was overwhelmingly "against Chinese immigration." Out of a total vote of 161,094, there were but 883 "for," while 154,638 were "against" the immigration of the Chinese.

The politicians and newspapers bear Mr. Miller company in pronouncing this vote decisive as to the strength of Pacific coast sentiment on this question. But as to the real significance of this vote some remarks may be in order.

First. Let it be remembered that this vote was taken when political strife was at its height, and politicians of all parties were bidding for votes, and doing their utmost to make people believe they were in immediate danger of an Asiatic inundation.

Second. There was a heavy *silent* vote that would not be forced into an expression on the subject, and that silent vote represents some of the best citizens of the State.

Third. The *private* sentiment of at least half the people of California seems to differ very essentially from the *public* sentiment thus expressed, inasmuch as they show themselves quite in favor of the presence of the Chinese, by giving regular employment to some 75,000 of that race; and notably is this the case with certain well-known editors and politicians, who in their public utterances constantly and bitterly denounce the Mongolians, while keeping several of them steadily engaged in their kitchens and gardens! This illustrates the depth and sincerity of much of this clamor.

Fourth. This strong anti-Chinese sentiment has been largely produced by the one-sided statements and misrepresentations of demagogues and lying newspapers; hence, it is not a correct or

intelligent sentiment; and an opinion not based on substantial facts is valueless.

Fifth. The so-called anti-Chinese element embraces a great variety of people. Lowest in the scale are the "Sand-Lotters" —a rabid, ignorant mob, mainly of foreigners, led by Dennis Kearney; and this is a large class of our population. Next come the cunning demagogues and time-serving politicians — that mighty army of office-seekers, whose principles are cheap, and variable according to popular feeling. Then we have a great many honest, industrious, hard-working, and Christian people, who, misguided by the one-sided or false statements of the secular, and the silence or tame acquiescence of the religious newspapers of the coast, sincerely believe that the presence of the Chinese is a great evil, and the immediate cause of all that distress which has really come from land monopoly, stock gambling, reckless extravagance, and the expensive vices of the past. And, last of all, there are legions who feel no special opposition to the Chinese *per se*, but are so tired of this unceasing howl and agitation, which for three years has been cursing the State, that they would be glad to have the immigration cease, or almost any thing else take place that would give a respite from disturbance. Taking all the elements together, California furnishes a singular illustration of the way in which classes influence each other, and how a whole people may be swayed by misconceptions, and placed in opposition to avowed principles of human equality and justice!

These classes hold exceedingly various views as to the proper remedy for the evil. Absolute expulsion and entire exclusion are demanded by the first; the second are ready for any thing; the others favor restriction or limitation of the immigration, while they seem quite willing the 150,000 now here should remain; and those who are able evince their willingness by keeping that number, less or more, at work on good wages.

But there are certain objections to the Chinese, grave and otherwise, that demand passing notice. It is objected by Mr. Miller and others:

1. That our country is in danger of being overrun by a pagan horde from China, who will ultimately subvert our Christian civilization.

As to the danger of a large influx of Chinese, and the prob-

abilities in that direction, perhaps sufficient has already been said in this article. But the subversion of the superior civilization by the lower and weaker—when has it taken place, and under what attendant circumstances? The western empire of the Romans fell before the invasion of Goth and Vandal; the Greek empire succumbed before the invincible Ottoman emperor and his daring legions; but the best-read historians tell us that internal corruptions, the decay of virtue, and the effeminacy of civilized life, operating for generations, subverted the nations, while on their ruins grew the nobler civilization of modern times. That civilization which under the lead of Charles Martel dashed down from the Pyrenees the hosts of Saracenic invasion, and in Luther's day hurled back the crescent from the plains of Hungary—which has encircled the globe with its institutions, and now commands the fear and respect of the world—can never be subverted, except by its own corruptions. History and faith unite in giving this assurance, while on the other hand the signs of the times strongly indicate that a hundred years of contact with Christian nations, and a hundred years of missionary effort, will completely overthrow the pagan civilization of China, and place her among the progressive Christian powers of the earth; and this may be the last and greatest victory of Christianity before the end and consummation of all things.

2. It is objected that they are coolie slaves, owned by the "Six Companies," degrading free white labor by their presence, and bringing down the prices paid for ordinary work below living rates.

But from the concurrent testimony of all the missionaries familiar with Chinese customs and language, the native Christians and the mass of the Chinese people themselves, together with the fact that in the hundreds of Chinese cases tried in our courts no contract for the sale or delivery of a slave has ever been discovered, Dr. Gibson shows conclusively that slavery does not exist among the male Chinese population of our country. That girls and women are enslaved for the purposes already indicated cannot be denied, and a glaring shame it is to our public officials and courts that of the six thousand Chinese women in this country, about five thousand are held in the vilest kind of servitude. That contracts occasionally exist, accord-

ing to whose terms numbers of Chinamen may work for small wages for some months, or longer, may also be the case; nor is it uncommon for the "Six Companies," or wealthy relatives in this country, to advance passage money to their poor countrymen desiring to come here, and then require them to pay back the money advanced by monthly installments from their wages; but this has not been uncommon among other nationalities. To call China "the great slave-pen of the world," as Mr. Miller does, is to considerably exceed the truth. One must also conclude that it is a singular kind of slavery which allows its victims to go where they please, make their own bargains, collect their own wages, and do what they please with the proceeds, as the Chinese are known to do! If we inquire very closely into the degradation of "free white labor," the discovery will soon be made that laziness, improvidence, tobacco, and rum are the active agents operating through a thousand channels, and ever lowering our common people to a more wretched scale of being.

If the Chinese have assisted in bringing down the prices of labor somewhat, they have done the Pacific coast good service; yet employers know to their sorrow that no such thing as *cheap* labor exists in California. Even the Chinese obtain from one half more to double the wages paid white men and women in the Atlantic States for the same kind of service, while the cost of living and clothing is less in San Francisco than in many Eastern cities. With the splendid resources of California for almost every kind of manufacture, why is so little manufacturing done? How is it that from an annual product of 40,000,000 pounds of wool, 38,000,000 are sent East, worked up by skillful operatives there, and sent back to us as woolen goods? Hides are produced by the million, sold to the Eastern buyer, and fifty thousand cases of boots and shoes come back to us in a single year; other things are in much the same state. With all our opportunities, and protected by a double freight on materials and goods a distance of three thousand miles, we are yet unable to carry on manufacturing enterprises extensively or successfully. One would suppose from this that one of our greatest needs is the importation of *cheaper* labor from some source. But our white laborers refuse to come down from high prices, and the Chinese work on at a little

below the standard of the others; so there is something of a dead-lock in manufacturing enterprise. That wages will ultimately come down in California to the level of other States, and that there will be plenty to do, there is no doubt. Just how low the Chinese may fall in their prices we cannot tell; but it seems certain that it will not be lower than the rates paid common hands in the Eastern States.

3. It is objected that they do not use our products, that it costs them nothing to live, and that their earnings are all sent out of the country.

A trip through the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, and a little observation directed to the variety of goods and provisions on sale, must render the objection somewhat curious. Pork, beef, fish, flour, potatoes, fruits of all kinds; sewing-machines, jewelry, time-pieces, clothing, and "Yankee notions" of all kinds, abound—so that it appears from a careful estimate of the value of these home products, that they use $6,000,000 annually! However much ability they may possess for living on nothing, observation abundantly shows that there are no more heavy feeders in the State than these same starveling (?) Chinese! It may be remarked, though, that their liquor bills are not so heavy as those of the superior race.

The amount sent back to China each year is greatly overestimated. That bitter anti-Chinese organ, the "San Francisco Call," with a passing twinge of honesty, in a recent issue, allowed that it did not exceed $1,500,000 a year, while Dr. Gibson places the figures at $800,000—a large amount in either case, and better for us were it all spent here; but while our people are spending $200,000,000 a year in Europe for pleasure, and many millions besides for French wines and silks, which we do not need, it would seem a little ridiculous to raise such an uproar against the Chinamen for sending home a small part of their earnings.

4. Again, it is objected that they buy no real estate, pay no taxes, and do nothing to support our institutions or government.

Though little encouragement has been given them to make permanent investments in this country, yet in San Francisco alone they have purchased real estate to the value of over $800,000. In support of the government they annually pay duties on their imports of over $2,000,000; poll tax, $250,000;

other taxes and for licenses, $500,000; rents, $100,000; insurance, $500,000; while our lines of travel and freightage are heavily patronized by them.

5. Once more, it is objected that they are an inferior race, incapable of assimilation, of becoming citizens or Christians, and withal a most dangerous element in our society. This is General Miller's stronghold, and really contains in itself the gravest valid objection that can be urged.

But let us look into the merits of the case. If the Chinese are indeed an inferior race, "a scrub stock," as Mr. Miller says, why should those who believe in the "survival of the fittest" feel any alarm in this exigency? Evolution will doubtless regulate the case in due time, and we have little to fear. As to assimilation, there is a wide distinction to be made between the *possibility* and the *fact* of such a thing taking place. If *intermarriage* of the races is meant, then the *fact* is that such assimilation is not yet very common; but several instances of such intermarriage, and troops of children, whose features are mingled Caucasian and Mongolian, proclaim the *possibility* of such a thing. If the adoption of our language, mode of dress, and habits of life be meant, then the *fact* is that in these regards the Chinese assimilate very slowly, and it is an objection against them of considerable weight. But closer examination will show that many thousands of them do learn our language, and in many ways assimilate in the use of our customs, manners, and inventions, enough to show the *possibility* of their doing so generally.

But there are certain obstacles to assimilation which need to be remarked upon. First, on the part of the Chinaman there is just one thing that renders him peculiar, and that makes him a Chinaman the world over, and that one thing is his *cue*. It is the crowning glory of the Mongolian costume. That cue has now been worn for about two hundred and fifty years, and is the sign of subjection to the present Tartar dynasty of the empire, the badge of Chinese citizenship. But it is not an essential part of the man himself, and may be cut off without risking his life! Now then, let the barber, instead of shaving the head of his patient, cut his hair a decent length all around; ensconce your subject in a suitable suit of clothes, polish him up a little in one of the schools, and lo! you have such

a nice-looking, medium-sized youth that you would scarce recognize him as the Chinaman of a short time before. Many have already made that change, and thousands more would do so, were it not for losing caste among their own people, and the protection of their government. But China will at length do as Japan has done—allow her subjects to abandon this barbarous custom, and dress as they please.

For our part, we have put obstacles in the way of their assimilation such as these: We have made them ineligible to citizenship by our new Constitution; we have discriminated against them by such a set of laws as have not for years disgraced the statute-book of any civilized country; we have taxed them $40,000 a year to support our public schools and sedulously excluded them from the privileges thereof; our hoodlums have made it unsafe for them to travel or live where they cannot easily secure protection; things of this kind have rendered their assimilation slow, tended to confirm them in their clannishness, and given them no encouragement to abandon the customs of their country. Yet, in spite of it all, a gradual change has been going on. Many have abandoned their heathenism and are leading Christian lives; many have their families here and desire to make this their home.

The charge that the Chinese are a most dangerous element of our population, living in beastly filth, corrupting the young, and defying our laws by secret and inexorable tribunals, is one often repeated. The truth is this: They are a heathen people, with heathen vices—gambling and opium dens, theaters and places of prostitution; there are plenty of these, and they have their patrons. But competent judges say the abominations of these things are no worse than are found among white people in all large cities. The few of our own race drawn into them have already been hopelessly corrupted by our own peculiar institutions. Breweries, beer-gardens, five thousand or more saloons in California, Sunday picnics, excursions, godless schools—these are mainly responsible for the army of hoodlums and the bad state of morals and finances among our people: and the Chinese are accountable alone in the fact that our own people have unwisely hired them to do the work they should have done themselves and taught their children to do. That they have secret courts in operation there is no reliable

evidence—neither prison, nor dungeon, nor testimony are found in proof.

About the only valid objections, then, are these, namely: Their slow assimilation to American customs and modes of life, and the fact that thus far so few have come to remain and identify themselves with the interests of the country, for which things we are ourselves largely responsible.

Our Traditional Policy.

Belief in human brotherhood and open doors for all has been our national doctrine for a hundred years. Under its operation our country has been closed to none, and it has been our theory to extend to all who might come the enjoyment of equal privileges with ourselves as to trade, labor, and residence. We have made no conditions looking to the limitation of the incoming tide; white or dusky, rich or poor, bad or good, to all the gate has stood open; but now we are confronted with an immigration from Asia, differing in some respects from that which has come from Europe. What shall be done to meet this new phase of the immigration question? Shall we change our time-honored policy and plant exclusion on our western shore? Is this immigration so threatening that we must now put limitations upon it and render it less free than in the past? Or is no action necessary?

Were there no turbulent European element on our hands, holding the ballot, swayed by crafty priests and designing demagogues, perhaps there would be no Chinese question to vex us; but, unfortunately, we cannot eliminate this disturbing element from our national life, and must, therefore, try to adjust the case in some other way. Is the expulsion of the Chinese, or a limited immigration, the solution of the problem? Allowing that there are some grave objections to them, and that indirectly they cause some disturbance in our political life, will the proposed remedy place us in any better position than we now occupy? Viewed in the light of our principles relating to human rights and justice, the plan would seem to involve too many contradictions and too radical a change of policy to be acceptable to the American people as a whole. Yet the nation must protect its own life and secure the best good of its citizens. It would seem from past experience that to have in our

midst so large a foreign element not possessed of the rights of citizenship must often, owing to the peculiarities of our popular government, be the occasion of grave disturbances and sometimes subject our system to a too heavy strain. The genius of our free institutions demands that we should make no distinction on account of race or nationality alone; that we should exclude no one on account of his color; and that we should extend to all who are willing to conform to American ideas and modes of life the same rights of residence and citizenship.

True, we may by treaty stipulations with China secure a limitation of Chinese immigration, provided we submit to the loss of some of our privileges in the Chinese Empire; but that can do little else than delay the final issue. Some time in the future we shall be compelled to face the question fairly, and settle the matter forever as to whether the Chinaman is a man on American soil or not. The readiest, safest, and most consistent solution of the case, is to place all foreigners on a common footing, make all eligible to citizenship on certain conditions, or else none at all, and then, if necessary to limit immigration, let the restrictions apply to Europeans and Asiatics alike. Let the most deserving come, no matter what the shade of his skin or shape of his eye. Once make the Chinese generally eligible to citizenship, no matter on how severe educational and moral conditions, and the question is solved. The objections will speedily vanish; the demagogues and newspapers cease to howl against them; and the ignorant mob will no more dare attempt their injury than they now do that of the colored citizen in the more civilized parts of our country.

Reciprocity Relations.

Our relations of friendship and commerce with China are so intimately connected with this question that we cannot disregard them. The Burlingame Treaty was made at our instance and for our benefit. Through it we are allowed in China all privileges granted the "most favored nations." We cannot, therefore, legislate or take adverse action in the matter, and not be confronted by certain unpleasant consequences. We shall not be sustained in laying upon China conditions favorable only to ourselves; nor can we make conditions for others

to which we ourselves are not willing to submit. If an American has the right to go where he pleases, stay as long as he pleases, earn all he can, and dispose of it as he may choose, so has any other man the same right. If he has the right to lay limitations around the Chinaman in his coming and the use of his earnings in this country, the latter has an equal right to retaliate after his own fashion.

We now have a commerce with China yearly aggregating over $24,000,000, carried on chiefly by our own vessels, and handled largely by our own merchants. With such a market and ever-increasing demands for our products of all descriptions, it would seem eminently proper that we should foster the trade and do nothing to turn it into other channels. England is anxious to monopolize the trade with China and Japan, and would only be too glad to sustain China in any discrimination she might make against American merchants and American products, by way of retaliation for discriminations against her people in this country. China is not the puny, helpless power we have been accustomed to regard her; but, with the throbbings of a new civilization and a new life, is awaking like a giant from long slumber, and will ere long be able to compel respect from the nations of the earth. America and China—the oldest and the youngest of great nations—ought ever to be on the most friendly terms, ought ever to deal justly by each other, and ought to mutually aid each other in the development of their respective destinies, and the advancement of humanity!

Finally, we have these conclusions to act upon:

1. To exclude or discriminate against any people simply on the ground of race, color, or previous condition, is a grave departure from American first principles, and an attempt to wrest from others rights we insist on for ourselves.

2. It is too late in the history of the world for liberal America to adopt the cast-off, selfish, and narrow policy of China. It is better to aid or compel China to adopt and carry out our own.

3. While we may justly protect home industries, and allow to citizens of all races superior privileges, we cannot repress free competition of the races, nor deprive men of the inalienable right of hiring and being hired in an open labor market.

4. The solution of the question is in placing all foreigners on the same basis, giving to all the rights of citizenship only

on certain high conditions of long residence, education, and sworn allegiance, and discriminating, if at all, not in favor of one race above another, but in favor of citizens of all the races!

5. While it seems almost certain that the Anglo-Saxon race will ever predominate on American soil, Providence, with the finger of destiny, points no less distinctly to this land as the one sacred spot where all the races of men shall meet and dwell in full fellowship, and where at last the unity and brotherhood of humanity shall find their noblest earthly illustration.

Art. III.—PAN-PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL.*

"The Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System," is the official name of the General Triennial Council recently in session in the city of Philadelphia. This Pan-Presbyterian body originated in the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (North) in 1873, in appointing Drs. Crosby and Hatfield, of New York, and Dr. M'Cosh, of Princeton, a committee "to correspond with sister Churches holding the Westminster standards, with the view of bringing about an œcumenical council to consider subjects of common interest to all, and especially to promote harmony of action in the mission fields, at home and abroad."

It will be observed that in the very inception of the movement "harmony of action" in the prosecution of missionary work was made the special prominent object. A preliminary conference was called in London, in 1875. Of one hundred and one delegates commissioned to attend that conference only sixty-four were present; but they represented more than a score of different Presbyterian bodies in Great Britain and her colonies, on the Continent, and in the United States. It was an

* It should be said that this article was prepared in advance of the official publication of the proceedings of the Council, reliance being chiefly placed on the reports of "The Philadelphia Press"—reports which were frequently commended by members of the Council for their accuracy and fullness. The official record may show some slight changes in paragraphs herein quoted, but these can hardly be considerable or important, and the general drift of the Council, with respect to the topics discussed in this article, was unmistakable in its character.

important meeting, characterized by great warmth of brotherly feeling, and by the expression of a concurrent judgment that a closer alliance and a more manifest fellowship of the Churches holding the Presbyterian system was demanded. The objects and methods of the proposed Council were defined as follows:

The Council shall seek to guide and stimulate public sentiment, by papers read, by addresses delivered and published, by the circulation of information respecting the allied Churches and their missions, by the exposition of scriptural principles, and by defenses of the truth, by communicating the minutes of its proceedings to the supreme courts of the Churches forming the Alliance, and by such other action as is in accordance with its constitution and objects.

The Council shall consider questions of general interest to the Presbyterian community; it shall seek the welfare of Churches, especially such as are weak or persecuted; it shall gather and disseminate information concerning the kingdom of Christ throughout the world; it shall commend the Presbyterian system as scriptural, and as combining simplicity, efficiency, and adaptation to all times and conditions; it shall also entertain all subjects directly connected with the work of evangelization—such as the relation of the Christian Church to the evangelization of the world, the distribution of mission work, the combination of church energies, especially in reference to great cities and destitute districts, the training of ministers, the use of the press, colportage, the religious instruction of the young, the sanctification of the Sabbath, systematic beneficence, the suppression of intemperance and other prevailing vices, and the best methods of opposing infidelity and Romanism.

The constitution adopted recognized the principle of equality of representation from the clergy and laity, declaring that the delegates, "as far as practicable," should "consist of an equal number of ministers and elders;" and it also inhibited the Council from interfering "with the existing creed or constitution of any Church in the Alliance, or with its internal order or external relations."

The first Pan-Presbyterian Convocation, for which provision was thus made, assembled in Edinburgh, Scotland, in July, 1877. It was a large, able, and influential body, and fairly representative of the Reformed Churches of the Presbyterian order in different parts of the world. This Council, though not satisfactory in every particular, did much to promote deeper fellowship among the Churches, to advance the cause of foreign missions, and to bring

more prominently before the mind of the Christian world the necessity and practicability of a confederation of Protestantism, especially in and through its several distinctive denominations, for the more successful performance of evangelistic work, and for a stronger demonstration of the essential unity of the Church and of the common headship of all believers in our Lord Jesus Christ. The published volume of its proceedings is an interesting and suggestive document. Provision was made for a triennial meeting of the Council, and the Convocation in Philadelphia in the last days of September and the first days of October, 1880, was the result of that arrangement. It is this second Pan-Presbyterian Assembly which specially interests us at the present time.

The roll of the Council showed the attendance of delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, United States, Canada and other British colonies and dependencies, Africa, India, Ceylon, and from Victoria, New South Wales, New Hebrides, South Australia, and Tasmania, in Australasia. It was, therefore, an Ecumenical Conference, or Pan-Council, representing, with scarcely an exception, all branches of the Presbyterian Church, in all parts of the habitable world. The names of forty men of distinguished merit appeared on the programme who had not been selected by their respective Churches as delegates. Altogether it was a body of men of marked ability, ripe culture, distinguished scholarship and unquestioned devotion to the cause of Christ, especially as represented by the Presbyterian Church.

An order of exercises had been carefully prepared for each day of the session, and themes for essays and reports assigned to certain leading members of the Council. Some of these were distinctively denominational, such as, Report of Statistics, Principles of Presbyterianism, Ruling Elders, Creeds and Confessions, Presbyterianism and Education, Presbyterianism in relation to Civil and Religious Liberty, Presbyterian Catholicity, the Theology of the Reformed Church, with special reference to the Westminster Standards, and Desiderata of Presbyterian History. The whole Christian world, however, is deeply concerned in the relation which the great Presbyterian body holds to some, at least, of these subjects. Many of the themes dis-

cussed were of the widest Christian interest, and of the highest importance, as, The Ceremonial and the Moral in Worship, Inspiration and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the Relations of Science and Theology, Agnosticism, the Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ, Future Retribution, and the Conflict between Faith and Rationalism. Of a large number of the topics considered, it may be said that they were not only broader than the domain of the Presbyterian Church, but also that they were of such a practical character as to interest patriots, philanthropists and Christians in all lands; such as, for instance, Religion in Secular Affairs, Family Religion and Training of the Young, the Application of the Gospel to Employers and Employed, Christianity the Friend of the Working Classes, How to deal with Young Men trained in Science in this Age of Unsettled Opinion, Religion and Politics, Church Extension in large cities and in sparsely settled regions, Sabbath-schools, the Children in the Sabbath Service, Temperance, Popular Amusements, Observance of the Sabbath, Co-operation among Missionaries, Training of Candidates for the Ministry, Systematic Beneficence, Regeneration, and Revivals of Religion. These are subjects in which all men, countries, and Churches are interested and concerned. They touch the foundations of social order, of public law, of personal happiness, of the progress of the race, and of the civilization and conversion of the world. Their consideration by such a body of intelligent, cultured, and devout men as composed the recent Pan-Presbyterian Council, is an event of more than ordinary importance, and likely to exert a wide influence on the future of the Church and of the nations of the earth.

The able and eloquent opening sermon delivered before the Council by Rev. William M. Paxton, D.D., is remarkable from the fact that it presents six prominent characteristics of the great family of Presbyterian Churches, not one of which differentiates the Presbyterian body from other orthodox Protestant Churches. Change the name of the denomination, and select a different class of historic illustrations, and the sermon might as well have been preached before a Methodist Ecumenical Conference as before a Presbyterian Pan-Council. Certainly Methodism claims to be loyal to the person of Jesus Christ, to bear witness to the truth, to be catholic in spirit and purpose,

to stand for civil liberty, to be devoted to the work of Christian education, and to be missionary in its character and life. The facts and incidents of Methodist history furnish powerful arguments and elucidations to establish and to illumine every one of these propositions—some of them much more impressive than any which were employed by Dr. Paxton. This only shows that the greatest and best things of the Presbyterian Church and of the Methodist Church are those things which are held in common by all denominations of Protestant Christianity. It illustrates what Principal M'Vicar, of Montreal, said before the Council, that, "generally speaking, it will be found that the weakest part of a man's creed is that which he holds alone, and the strongest part is that which he holds in common with all true servants of the Lord." According to the noble sentiment of the great D'Aubigne, "That which gives life to Churches is not their diversities of government or worship or of discipline, but that 'most holy faith' which is common to them all."

The great value of an ecumenical council is not, it seems to us, in the able papers read; in the exhaustive reports made; in the brilliant and powerful array of talent and influence; in setting up new standards of orthodoxy, or in showing a pertinacious adherence to old standards, nor in any thing of this sort, however valuable such results may be in themselves considered. Jesus said, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Christianity demonstrated by an exhibition of spiritual brotherhood, by a full tide of holy love which will submerge all the rocks and shoals of difference, and showed by a practical and earnest co-operation in doing the Master's work, irrespective of denominational distinctions or doctrinal divergences — this is the great need of the Church, to-day, in order to compact its forces, to economize its expenditures, to harmonize its life with that of its glorious Head, and to make it victorious over the empire of darkness and death. Disbelief, in every form, is more impressed and shaken by exhibitions of Christian love than by any other gospel agency. It is the Holy Spirit of God dwelling in the hearts, shining in the faces, speaking in the words, and embodying itself in the deeds of Christian men, which, more powerfully than any other fact or influence, demonstrates Chris-

tianity to the world. Love, and not orthodoxy, is the test of discipleship. "If ye have love one to another"—not if ye all agree as to doctrinal symbols—then "shall all men know that ye are my disciples." Right thinking is important, and orthodoxy is not a thing to be disdained; but denominational differences are not usually in regard to the most important matters. The imperishable things of inestimable value are those in respect to which the great majority of Christians substantially agree. "Keep your smaller differences," said Calvin, when addressing the Lutheran Churches. "Let us have no discord on that account, but let us march in one solid column, under the banners of the Captain of our salvation, and with undivided counsels form the legions of the cross upon the territories of darkness and of death." "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ."

It is proper to judge a great convocation of the Church by this standard. Did the Pan-Presbyterian Council keep its smaller differences down? Did it show that it judged Christian brotherhood to be of more value than exact conformity to the standards? Did it make practical provision for joint and co-operative labors in the mission fields of the Church? These are topics which require a candid consideration.

The fact stares us in the face that this Council, as the previous one, in Edinburgh, met and parted without uniting, *as a body*, in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It seems that the Presbyterians who sing the psalms of David, and the Presbyterians who not only sing psalms but also hymns, which devout and spiritual, though uninspired, men have written, cannot agree, when set up as a spectacle before the world, to hold a joint communion service!

The following comment of a secular journal is what might have been anticipated:

> The failure of the Council *as a body* to commune together is a matter of just lamentation to all who desire the Church's unity. It is vain to allege in justification of this failure that the various branches of the Church represented differ in regard to some doctrines and dogmas. The time is at hand when what is needed as the great deed befitting the manhood of the Church is that its sections, especially those bearing the same generic name, should resolve on union, *notwithstanding differences*—that they

should know how to debate these differences freely and earnestly, and yet at the same time be one in outward act as they are really one in inward spirit.

Do not the various delegates on the floor of the Alliance recognize their brethren and the constituencies they represent as sustaining a Christian relation and possessing a Christian character? If they do not, why do they fraternize with them at all? But if they do, why object to such close fellowship with them as would bring them together around the table of a common Redeemer? Why unite in common prayer, preaching and praise, and hold back from a joint participation of the ordinance without which all pretense of union is a mere sham?

How deeply seated are these psalm-singing differences is evidenced by one little circumstance. When the letter of greeting to the various Churches represented in the Council was read and approved—a letter which congratulates the Church on the flourishing state of religion—Dr. Schaff, after having taken the precaution to consult a member of the proper committee, proposed to sing the doxology, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," and, pitching the tune, led the Council in a hearty singing of this strain of lofty praise. But Prof. D. R. Kerr, of Pittsburgh, who was in the chair, decided that the act "was an intrusion and an incivility," and Dr. Schaff found it necessary to explain and apologize. It is to be presumed that every man who had been guilty of the grave offense of singing God's praises in the language of Bishop Ken rather than in the words of King David laid his mouth in the dust. Did the Council, in these matters, follow the direction of Christ and the advice of Calvin? "It is high time," some one has said, "for bodies of Christians to throw overboard their minor points of divergence and come together in solid column to battle with the enemy which they all have to dread, and for nothing have so much reason to dread as for their unjustifiable divisions." We do not think that there is any thing to "throw overboard" except narrowness and bigotry. Every man is entitled to his opinions, but no man has a right to make his opinions the test of Christian brotherhood. We do not hesitate to affirm that the learning, wisdom, and piety of this Council did not accomplish so much for Christ and his cause, by all the able papers and reports which were presented, as would have been accomplished by a joint celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Council was elevated on a platform, with

the eyes of the world fixed on it, to discover, not so much what it would do, as what spirit it possessed. If its members had said, "We are followers of the Prince of Peace, we are agreed in all important things, we certainly regard each other as Christians, and we can afford to sink our minor differences out of sight, and, whether we sing psalms or hymns, or both, we will come together around the table of our common Lord, and show to an infidel and pagan world that we are one in Christ Jesus," we believe that the melting and glorifying power of the Holy Spirit would have come on the Council, that their tears of grateful joy would have bedewed and gladdened the waste places of Zion, and that their shouts and halleluiahs would have sent their joyful echoes around the world.

Was this Pan-Presbyterian Council truly catholic in spirit? It professed to be. Professor Stephen Alexander, of Princeton, said:

There is an apostolic rule of Christian fellowship and recognition. It is found in 1 Cor. i, 2. It has been properly quoted several times in this Council. It tells who we are to recognize as a Christian brother: "Unto the Church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs and ours." It is very simple and beautiful: "All that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." Whoever does that, according to the apostolic rule is my Christian brother.

Dr. Paxton, in the opening sermon, said:

We are not *the* Catholic Church, but a part of the great Universal Church of Jesus Christ, which has many members, who bear many names. Our name is Presbyterian. As another has expressed it, "Christian is our name, Presbyterian our surname." We are Presbyterian Christians, because we belong to Christ; Presbyterians, because we believe that the true original apostolic episcopacy was presbytery. Our principles and polity and methods of operation are all catholic, and may be reduced to practice with a wonderful facility under any circumstances and in any nationality.

Principal M'Vicar, of Montreal, said:

We hold that no one should presume in his denominational zeal to assert that Christ loved Presbyterians or Episcopalians or Congregationalists or Baptists or Methodists or any other body to the exclusion of the rest. The simple truth is that he redeemed the whole Church, all that are to be gathered finally into glory.

Dr. William H. Campbell, New Brunswick, N. J., of the Reformed Church, said:

There is one flock and one Shepherd, but there are many folds, and we in our Presbyterian fold must exercise love and brotherly kindness to every one that bears the image of Jesus Christ. Closer catholic unity is not going to diminish but increase our love and labor, our prayers and faith, and gifts for the Bible Society and the Tract Society and the Evangelical Alliance, and every other form of good work which calls for the unity of God's people.

Rev. A. F. Buscarlet, of Lausanne, Switzerland, said:

Where Christ, as the head of his Church, is firmly acknowledged, there the different members can harmoniously work together, and soon sympathize most truly with each other.

There were many other beautiful and forcible expressions of similar import, which we have not space to quote, but we put these on record that we may not be accused of misrepresenting the Council in the observations which we now have to offer. These professions of catholicity were put to the test in two notable instances. We refer to the case of the Cumberland Presbyterians, and to the proposal to send a deputation to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference.

Delegates from the Cumberland Presbyterian Church sought admission into the Council, and were refused. The Business Committee recommended the adoption of the following minute:

In the judgment of the Council the adoption of the Constitution of the Alliance by Churches should precede the admission of delegates, and in the absence of evidence that the Constitution has been adopted by either of these Churches, the delegates cannot be received.

Dr. Schaff asked if these delegates had refused to accept the Constitution. He also asked, "Has a single Reformed or Presbyterian Church in Europe, or Africa, or Asia, formally or informally, adopted the Constitution?" Hon. I. D. Jones, of Baltimore, made the very sensible suggestion that the sending of delegates to the Council was in itself an act of subscription to the Constitution, the provisions of which had been published to the Church for the last three years. Henry Day, Esq., of New York City, said:

I believe, brethren, that this is an Ecumenical Council—that we ought to bring in every body of the Presbyterian order and

polity that comes anywhere near us. I believe the Constitution was intended to be drawn so that it would let in any one in all these great assemblies that comes really near or is somewhat joined with us. Now when application is made for admittance by the Cumberland Presbyterians, who, you will remember, represent about a half million of the people of this country, they are refused. They are Presbyterians in polity and they are Presbyterians in doctrine. I think certainly they come as near the required standard as the Reformed Churches.

But all appeals for catholicity and liberal judgment were in vain. The Cumberland Presbyterians were kept out. The controlling reason was expressed by Dr. Watts, who said that the Church applying must have a creed in harmony with the concensus of the Reformed Confessions. Wherein do the Cumberland Presbyterians differ from the standards? They have made slight changes in the Creed, in the sections on "Free-Will," and on "Effectual Calling." Instead of the words "*elect* infants," they employ the words "*all* infants." They affirm, not that the saints *cannot* fall away, but that they *will* not. "Immutability of the decree of election," as one of the reasons for "Final Perseverance," they have omitted. For the chapter on Decrees in the Westminster Confession, they have substituted the following:

1. God did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, determine to act, or to bring to pass, what should be for his own glory.

2. God has not decreed any thing concerning his creature man, contrary to his revealed will or written word, which declares his sovereignty over all his creatures, the ample provision he has made for their salvation, his determination to punish the finally impenitent with everlasting destruction, and to save the true believer with an everlasting salvation.

It is claimed that there are other branches of the Church, as, for instance, the United Presbyterians of Scotland, which have made quite as serious changes in the subscription to the Confession, that the Westminster articles are not co-extensive with Presbyterianism, and that a more liberal interpretation of the Confession must be allowed, or other bodies, as well as the Cumberland Presbyterians, will be excluded from the General Council of the Church.

We have still another illustration of the catholicity of this ecumenical assembly of the Presbyterian Church. On the

third day of the session Rev. Henry A. Nelson, D.D., of Geneva, N. Y., a former Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, and a man of deserved repute, in his denomination and beyond it, for learning and piety, offered the following resolution:

Whereas, We are informed that our Christian brethren of the Methodist Churches are to hold an Ecumenical Council in London in the year 1881:

Resolved, That two ministers and two ruling elders be appointed to convey to that body the fraternal salutations of this Alliance, with the assurance of our hearty fellowship with them in the cause of our Redeemer and Lord.

On motion of Dr. Breed, of Philadelphia, the resolution was referred to the Business Committee. Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., of New York City, made the report of the Committee, recommending the adoption of the following minute: "That inasmuch as the Constitution of our Alliance makes no provision for reciprocating such correspondence, and we are not apprised of the wishes of other Councils in that regard, it is not practicable at present to make such appointments as are contemplated in the resolutions."

Dr. Nelson stated that he had satisfactory, though, in the nature of the case, of necessity unofficial, assurances that such action as his resolution proposed would be acceptable to the Methodist Churches.

Principal Cairns, of Scotland; Hon. W. E. Dodge, of New York; Hon. Isaac D. Jones, of Baltimore; and Rev. William Reid, of Toronto, spoke at length, expressing warm commendation of the idea of fraternizing with sister Churches. The whole matter was then sent back to the Business Committee, together with a preamble to the resolution offered by Dr. Bronson, recognizing the "earnest zeal and faithful works of the Methodist Church in all Christian lands." In a subsequent report, submitted by Dr. Calderwood, it was recommended that a letter of friendly greeting and good wishes should be sent from this Council by the clerk indicating our desire for the success of that meeting. The recommendation was agreed to.

The two reasons given for the adverse report on Dr. Nelson's resolution are neither of them worthy of respect. The first

reason presented is, "The Constitution of our Alliance makes no provision for reciprocating such correspondence." Well, suppose it does not. Does it prohibit such correspondence? Is not that precisely one of the things which may be left to the sober judgment and fraternal impulse of the Council itself? But this is not, by any means, the whole strength of the case. The preamble to the Constitution—the instrument under which the committee takes refuge—contains these memorable words:

> In forming this Alliance the Presbyterian Churches do not mean to change their fraternal relations with other Churches; but will be ready, as heretofore, to join with them in Christian fellowship and in advancing the cause of the Redeemer, on the general principle maintained and taught in the Reformed Confession—that the Church of God on earth, though composed of many members, is one body in the communion of the Holy Ghost, of which body Christ is the Supreme Head and the Scriptures alone are the infallible law.

Any one can see that the conclusion of the Committee is not in harmony with this grand, glowing, and truly catholic declaration.

The other reason given is a lack of knowledge in regard to the wishes of other councils. But it was proposed to send a deputation to a council called, but not yet convened, and which could not be expected to declare its wishes in advance of its organization. There was every reason to conclude that a deputation would be gratefully received. The final determination to send a fraternal letter is better than nothing, and yet what assurance had the committee that a fraternal letter would be received any more graciously than a deputation? On the very day on which the Council assembled, Professor E. D. Morris, D.D., of Lane Theological Seminary, published in the New York "Independent" a communication in which he advocated what this Quarterly proposed in its October number, in an article prepared four months before its publication, namely, "A Parliament of Protestantism," to "promote great causes by joint action"—causes too great to be confined within denominational limits, and requiring the joint exertions of all the followers of the Lord Jesus for their successful establishment in the earth. Speaking of the essential unity of the Church of God on earth, Professor Morris adds:

Will it not be a fitting expression of that sentiment on the part of the Alliance if, during its present session, a suitable delegation should be chosen to represent in the proposed Conference the confederated Presbyterianism of the world, and to convey to those there assembled the assurance of fraternal regard? Such an act would not only be in itself a graceful and brotherly thing, but would also become a conspicuous attestation before all men of the reality and worth of true Christian fellowship. Such a delegation would, doubtless, be most cordially welcomed, and its assurances would, beyond question, receive a cordial and enthusiastic response. Confederated Methodism would rejoice to grasp, with characteristic fervor, the extended hand of confederated Presbyterianism; and Evangelical Protestantism the world over would rejoice in the act.

The Alliance did not meet this expectation, and, as we believe, did not express the convictions of the leading and best minds in the Presbyterian Church, especially in this country. The fraternal letter which the clerk of the Alliance was directed to send to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference will, doubtless, be kindly received, and will be responded to in like manner and with hearty interest. Beyond that, of course, nothing will be expected of the Conference. The world moves slowly, but it moves, and as an admired Presbyterian divine said, "Christ is greater than Council or Conference," and a confederated Protestantism will yet stand, in the unity of the Spirit, and the strength of a common purpose, against the assaults of unbelief and misbelief, for the conversion of the world to Christ.

The interest in the Pan-Presbyterian Council rose to its culmination when the missionary work was considered; for in respect to the importance of this work the Church is a unity, and in its accomplishment, more emphatically than anywhere else, is the necessity of co-operation clearly seen. The report of the Council's Committee on Missions presented for consideration the following points:

1. Home arrangement for the management of missions.
2. Funds and modes of raising them.
3. Means adopted to awaken missionary zeal.
4. Supply and training of missionaries.
5. Modes of missionary operation.
6. Relation of missions to the home Churches.
7. Mutual relations of missions abroad.
8. Co-operation at home on behalf of missions.
9. Glance at fields still unoccupied.

The following facts were also noticed: Regions lately inaccessible are now thrown open to missionary labors; facilities of intercommunication are bringing the ends of the earth together; the supply of missionaries has never failed; an important portion of missionary labor, at home and abroad, is done by Christian women; native ministers must, for the sake of economy and efficiency, be trained for their work in their own lands; and for all the highest aims and ends of evangelism there must be associate missionary endeavors in the foreign field. "There is something sublime and grand," said Dr. Wilson, "in the idea that all the varied branches of our venerable Presbyterian Church should be found earnestly working, not to extend and perpetuate their own peculiarities of worship and government, but to rear one simple, pure, scriptural Presbyterian Church for each one of the great sections of the unevangelized world."

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent a communication to the Council asking for a consideration of the question "as to the mode in which missionaries of different Churches laboring in the same or contiguous fields may be associated with each other so as most efficiently to secure, in harmonious co-operation, the ends contemplated in missionary work." Dr. Hutton, of Paisley, Scotland, referring to this communication, argued that, where mission Presbyteries do not exist, Presbyterian Churches should act in conjunction with Churches of other evangelical denominations in mission work in order to extend the sweep of their co-operative enterprise. Too often, the speaker said, different denominations in the mission field were looked upon as jealous camps. Dr. Murray Mitchell stated that there is a project pending in China which has been advocated by one of the leading Scottish missionaries, as well as by one of the Presbyterian missionaries, for a general Presbyterian college in that country, and the same idea has been suggested to our brethren in India. Rev. Mr. Stout, of Japan, informed the Council that they had one Presbyterian Church in Japan instead of three, and that the Japan Presbyterian Church had a native constitution; that, by means of this organization, they had been able to establish a common theological school; and that, having a common Church and one theological

school, they were enabled to present a common front to heathenism.

In view of these facts, overtures and accounts from mission fields, the Council adopted a report on "Co-operating with Foreign Missions," recognizing "the strong increasing desire among the Churches in connection with it that some suitable measures should be taken to secure, as far as practicable, co-operation in the work of foreign missions;" affirming that such desire should be regarded "as one of the most hopeful signs of the future;" and suggesting to the Reformed Churches the importance of further organizing and unifying their evangelistic labors, "in the several fields in which a plurality of Presbyterian missions are contiguously established;" and to carry into effect these suggestions to the Churches, the Council appointed two large committees, one for the United States and Canada, and one for Europe and other places not otherwise provided for; and the work of these committees it defined as follows: "It shall be the duty of these committees to communicate in such manner as they may deem best with the Churches assigned to them, and report the result to the next Council. Should it become manifest in the meantime that plans of co-operation to some extent can be agreed upon among some of the Churches interested, the said committees are authorized and requested to give such aid in carrying them into effect as may be found practicable."

It may reasonably be expected that increased unity, efficiency, and success in all the mission fields of the Presbyterian Church will result from the wise and earnest action of the Triennial Council, and from the advice and practical aid of its permanent supervisional Committee.

There are several other important matters which came before the Council, to which we had designed to refer, but our space forbids. The utility and advantage of such a general representative assembly was well expressed by Dr. Paxton in his introductory discourse. He said:

> The smallest Presbyterian body struggling under discouragement in the most distant country must be made to feel that it does not stand alone, but is linked in effective sympathy with a great family of vigorous Churches who feel for it and will act with it in its time of need. No Church must be per-

mitted to have a feeling of solitary orphanage. The brethren must take home from this family council the salutations of the Churches to each other, and such messages of love and sympathy as will make the discouraged lift their faces from the dust, and thank God and take courage. So, too, the Churches and brethren laboring in the great centers and bearing the burdens of heavy responsibilities must be made to feel that in this strain and struggle they have the support of brethren and Churches who feel and work with them and for them, and that from the vast family all over the earth prayers are going up for their success.

Dr. Paxton insisted, in an eloquent strain, that this Christian unity could not be secured by mechanical appliances, by resolutions, or "ecclesiastical pressure," but that it must come from within, that it must be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and that it must find manifestation in a warm Christian affection.

To the ensuing Methodist Ecumenical Conference this Pan-Presbyterian Council will be both a beacon and an example. It furnishes both warning and instruction. It is a chart which reveals at once the shoals and the deep-sea soundings. It will be inexcusable to repeat its errors; it will be stupidity or bigotry not to discern the noble pattern furnished, and not to profit by its consideration. The Conference can afford to be less learned, metaphysical, and elaborate, but it cannot afford to be less earnest, spiritual, and catholic. It will be advisable to give more time to religious exercises, to the narration of personal experience in the things of God, and to services of consecration, prayer, and praise. Let the Holy Eucharist be duly administered, and the doxology be frequently sung. The Conference will not meet to magnify Methodism, but Christ, and to devise better methods of doing his work in all the earth. That it may be successful in its great object, let the whole Church offer constant prayer to Almighty God.

Art. IV.—ZOROASTER AND ZOROASTRIANISM.

The Religion of the Parsis. By Martin Haug, Ph.D. Boston. 1878.

The religion of Zoroaster is among the oldest of the religions of the world, and one of the eight great ethnic religions which possess a sacred literature. It is the religion of our kindred at a time shortly after our Aryan ancestors began their migrations from their primitive home. It originated probably not less than twelve hundred years before the Christian era, became a national religion, and, in spite of revolutions, conquests, and persecutions, is still professed by a small Parsi community in India and a few devotees in their fatherland. The religion of Zoroaster is most intimately connected with the religion of Moses and the prophets of the Old Testament. The Magi are mentioned by Jeremiah, chap. xxxix, 3. The "Chief of the Magi" (*Rab-mag*) was in the retinue of Nebuchadnezzar at his entry into Jerusalem. Ezekiel speaks probably of Zoroastrians when he says there were "about five and twenty men" standing "at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar," who "put the branch to their nose;" "with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshiped the sun toward the east." Ezek. viii, 16, 17.

The Bible never classifies the Persians among idolaters. Isaiah calls Cyrus "the anointed of the Lord whose right hand the Lord has holden, to subdue nations before him:" the Lord's "shepherd" to carry out his counsels; "a ravenous bird called from the east, the man that executeth the Lord's counsel from a far country." Isa. xlv, 1; xliv, 28; xlvi, 11.

Herodotus declares that the Magi worshiped no idols, (chaps. cxxxi, cxxxii.) We shall find their own sacred writings confirming this testimony. Magi came from the East to worship the infant Jesus at Bethlehem. Matt. ii, 1.

In the famous Behistun trilingual inscription, discovered by Major Rawlinson in 1835, consisting in the first four columns (omitting the fifth half column of thirty-five lines, which has been but imperfectly deciphered) of three hundred and seventy-six lines in an Aryan, a Semitic, and a Scythic language, the name of Ormazd occurs sixty-seven times. Darius says, "By

the grace of Ormazd I am king;" "By the grace of Ormazd I hold this empire;" "Ormazd brought help to me;" "I prayed to Ormazd;" "By the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated the rebel army;" "Under the favor of Ormazd have I always acted;" "Ormazd is my witness;" "May Ormazd be a friend to thee." A true devotional spirit which may be favorably compared with the spirit disclosed in like passages of history in the Old Testament, runs through the whole account.*

Until within a little more than a century our knowledge concerning the laws, customs, and religion of Persia came principally from classic sources. Modern Persian literature is poetic and traditional. Mohammedan writers give only the conquest of the country and the extinction of its religion A. D. 636.

Of the Greek writers who wrote concerning the religion of the Persians, prominent were Ktesias, (B. C. 400,) Deinon, (B. C. 350,) Theopompos of Chios, (B. C. 300,) and Hermippos of Smyrna, (B. C. 250.) Only fragments of their writings have been preserved by Plutarch, Diogenes of Laerte, and Pliny. Theopompos in his eighth book of the history of King Philip of Macedonia, "On Miraculous Things," treats specially of the doctrines of the Magi. Hermippos wrote a book, "On the Magi," which must have been of great value. Pliny says that Hermippos investigated with great care and labor the sacred books of the Zoroastrians, which were said to comprise two millions of verses. The loss of such a work is to be deeply regretted. The Greeks and Romans derived most of their information concerning the Zoroastrian religion from Theopompos and Hermippos.

To escape the persecutions of the Mohammedans, the adherents of this religion left their native land and settled in Western India. Here the nations of Europe came in contact with them, and in the seventeenth century manuscripts of their sacred books were brought to Europe, but were valued only as curiosities. In A. D. 1700 Hyde, a celebrated scholar of Oxford, published *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum Eorumque Magorum*, which contained much and valuable information gathered from many authorities concerning their religion. But Hyde, although having access to original manuscripts, could

* "Records of the Past," vol. i, pp. 113–129.

not read a word of them, and hence his work cannot be considered an authority.

In 1754 the enthusiasm of Anquetil-Duperron, a young Frenchman, pursuing oriental studies at the Royal Library, was aroused at the sight of a Parsi manuscript, and he determined to visit India and Persia and collect manuscripts, bring them back, translate them, and give the results to the world. He enlisted as a soldier in the service of the Indian Company, marched out of Paris "to the lugubrious sound of an ill-mounted drum," landed at Pondicherry in 1755, steadfastly kept to his purpose, studied hard, collected manuscripts, returned to Paris in 1762, and in 1771 published his translation of the so-called "Zend-Avesta."

The authenticity of these sacred books was much discussed. Even the great jurist and oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, believed that they were forged and that Duperron had been imposed upon by the priests from whom he received instruction in the Avestan and Pahlavi languages.

Richardson, the celebrated Persian lexicographer, also held the opinion that these languages were forgeries. Erasmus Rask, a Danish scholar, in 1826, in a pamphlet "On the Age and Genuineness of the Zend Language," proved its close relationship with the Sanscrit. Eugene Burnouf, Professor in the Collége de France, (1833–46,) laid the foundation of Avestan grammar and etymology; proved the translation of Duperron, however valuable for affording a general idea of Avestan literature, yet utterly inaccurate and incorrect; and gave the first real translation of two chapters of the Yasna.

Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen, edited and published the first complete edition of the Zend-Avesta in 1852–1854. Martin Haug edited, translated, and explained The Five Gáthás, (two vols., Leipzig, 1858–1860,) and did much in the interest of Zend scholarship (1852–1874) in other translations and philological works. His latest work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, and from which we take the translations which we use, furnishes the most complete and reliable account of Zoroastrianism with which we are acquainted in the English language. Spiegel, Windischmann, West, Darmesteter, Justi, and other investigators have entered this field of research, and the scriptures of the Parsis, of which, a little

more than a hundred years ago, no man living could read a word, may soon be accessible to the general reader.

The scriptures of the Parsis are usually called Zend-Avesta by Europeans and Americans. The Pahlavi books call them *Avistâk va Zand*, Avesta and Zend, or "Text and Commentary," both being written, probably, in the Avestan language. "Avesta," originally confined to the sacred texts ascribed to Zoroaster, afterward acquired an extended meaning, so as to embrace at the present time all writings in the Avestan language. It may be derived from *a+vista*, (*vista* is pluperfect of *vid*, "to know,") and hence would mean "what is known," or "knowledge;" or "what is announced," or "declaration," thus approaching very nearly the meaning of "revelation," like Veda, the name of the sacred scriptures of the Brahmans. When the Avesta language became unintelligible, a translation of these scriptures was made by priests of the Sassanian period into their vernacular, the Pahlavi. In later times the term "Zend" has referred to this translation. There are passages in the present Avesta which are supposed to be remnants of the old Zend. Zend is from the root *zan*, "to know," so that it means "knowledge," or science. Pâzand meant originally *re-explanation*, and some passages in the Avesta may be the old Pâzand in the Avestan language; "but at present the term Pâzand is applied only to purely Iranian versions of Pahlavi texts, whether written in the Avestan or Persian characters, and to such parts of Pahlavi texts as are not Huzvârish." * This word is applied to the Semitic elements in Pahlavi. The ancient Persians received their writing from a Semitic people. For Semitic words were translated bodily into Iranian writing as logograms, and pronounced as Pahlavi words of the same meaning; as though we were to write the Latin word "equus," but always pronounce it *horse*. These explanations of terms, in which I have followed Haug, seem to be necessary to the reading of works connected with Parsi studies.

The sacred writings of the Zoroastrians were very voluminous, but were greatly reduced when Alexander, at the instigation of the Athenian courtesan Thais, (according to the account, which may be somewhat traditional,) in a drunken frolic burned the citadel and royal palace at Persepolis, thus destroying the

* "The Religion of the Parsis," p. 122.

historic and sacred archives. By fragmentary collections this loss was partially repaired, when the Mohammedan persecutions still more effectually scattered or destroyed the sacred books. The names, however, remain with short summaries of their contests. These summaries, in the absence of the works themselves, are of great value.

According to accounts which remain to us, the whole scriptures were divided into twenty-one books, called *Nasks*, each containing an original text and commentary. Each nask was indexed under a particular word of the most sacred Zoroastrian formula: "Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratush, ashâd chid hachâ, Vanhêush dazdâ manaṅhô shkyaothnanam anhêush mazdâi. Khshathremchâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadhad vâstârem." Haug translates: "As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master, (spiritual guide,) for the sake of righteousness, (to be) the giver of the good thoughts, of the actions of life toward Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor." *

The Nasks were divided into three classes, to correspond with the three lines of this formula. Several descriptions of the contents of the Nasks have survived. They contain advice concerning prayer and all religious services; they teach virtue, truth, heedfulness, reverence, law, judgment, wisdom, knowledge, purity; they teach the value of good works and meditation, peace and obedience, duties to magistrates, and how kings should rule; they discourse concerning the creation of all things, good and evil, ranks among men, agriculture and culture of trees, medicine, astronomy, botany, philosophy; charities, and the merit of reciting scripture formulæ; the attributes of Ahuramazda, and final deliverance from hell; bringing mankind from good to evil, and the preservation and protection of cities; the good and evil influence of the stars; keeping evil spirits out of the heart, and the attainment of spiritual life; purification, care of the dead, the resurrection, future existence, rewards and punishments, things concerning the world to come, and other similar matters.

Of these Nasks, but one, namely, the Vendidad, is extant complete. Of two or three others some fragments remain, but in the Zend-Avesta, as used at the present time, there are other

* "The Religion of the Parsis," p. 141.

books, such as the Yasna and Visparad. The Yashts also are not found in the Nasks, unless, as has been maintained, they are contained in the fourteenth and twenty-first.

The Yasna is the most sacred book of the whole Zend-Avesta. Haug suggests that the Yasna and Visparad may occupy with respect to the Nasks "the same rank as the Vedas in the Brahminical literature do in reference to the Shâstras and Purânas." The contents of these books show remarkable literary activity on the part of the ancient Persians. The texts now extant and published in Westergaard's edition are the following: Yasna, Visparad, Vendidad; twenty-four Yashts, including fragments of two Nasks; fourteen short prayers of various kinds, called Afringân, Nyâyish, and Gâh; nine miscellaneous fragments, and the Sirôzah, or calendar. Not a voluminous literature to be sure, but priceless to him who is interested in the history of races when they think their first thoughts and breathe their first prayers to God.

Yasna is from the root *yaz*, which means "to worship by means of sacrifice and prayers." At present it consists of seventy-two chapters. There are two parts, which differ considerably in contents and language. The old Yasna is written in the Gâtha dialect, which differs from the Avestan not only in the lengthening of final vowels and the separation of certain syllables into two syllables, which we may suppose to be the result of chanting, but in other respects, showing it to be at least one or two hundred years older than the Avestan. All parts written in the Gâtha dialect have formed originally a separate book, and this book was already considered sacred when the other scriptures were written. These original writings are mentioned several times in the Vendidad with the meaning of "scripture." The later Yasna is in the ordinary Avestan language.

Gâtha is from the root *gai*, "to sing," and hence means "song." "The Gâthas, five in number, are comparatively small collections of metrical compositions, containing short prayers, songs, and hymns, which generally express philosophical and abstract thoughts about metaphysical subjects."* These Gâthas contain all that was revealed to Zorouster. He learned them when in an ecstatic state from the choir of the archan-

* "The Religion of the Parsis," pp. 142, 143.

gels. The Gâtha dialect may be the language of the native district or city of Zoroaster.

The Visparad in twenty-three chapters is in the usual Avestan language, and in contents resembles the first part of the later Yasna. The Yashts, twenty in number, are collections of prayer and praise. Some of them are highly poetical, and contain in many cases metrical verses to be traced to the days of the bards of Media. Unlike the Yasna and Visparad, the Yashts celebrate the praises of some particular divine being or class of beings, instead of invoking all these beings promiscuously. The Vendidad, in twenty-two chapters, is the civil, criminal, and religious code of laws of the Zoroastrians.

The five Gâthas contain the teachings of Zoroaster in their purity. He is expressly mentioned as their author, (Yas. lvii, 8,) while nowhere is he said to be the author of other sacred writings. He speaks of himself in the first person, and acts as a man conscious of being commissioned of God. He teaches a pure religion, and exhorts his countrymen to forsake idolatry and worship the one only and true God. The later Yasnas are not regarded as the genuine works of Zoroaster, but rather of some of his earliest disciples. They descend somewhat from his high and pure principles, make concessions to idolatry, reform some of the old sacrifices, and invoke the ancient *devas*, whom Zoroaster charged with the origination of all evil and sin. The Visparad ranks with the later Yasna, and the Vendidad is still farther removed from the purity of the five Gâthas. The Yashts are most modern of all. The Gâthas were composed about B. C. 1200; the Vendidad, B. C. 1000–900; the later Yasna, B. C. 800–700; the Pazand portion of the Vendidad, B. C. 500; the Yashts, B. C. 450–350.

The Zoroastrian religion in its origin was a protest against Brahmanism. This is evident from several considerations. *Deva* in the Brahmanical literature is the name of the objects of Hindu worship; in the Zend-Avesta it is the general name for evil spirit or devil. The Vendidad is *vi-daêvôdâta*, "what is given against the devas." *Asura* is the name of the Parsi god in Ahura mazda; in the older parts of the Rigveda it is used in a good sense, but in the later Brahmanical literature it is applied to the most bitter enemies of the Hindu devas. In the Yajurveda seven meters are called âsurî. These are found in

the Gâtha literature. *Indra*, the chief god of the Vedic times, is a demon among the Parsis, second only to Ahriman, (Angrô-mainyush.) The latter the Parsis call "devil of devils." The Brahmans call him "god of gods."

However, some of the Vedic devas are transformed into angels in the Zend-Avesta. The close connection of these religions is also shown where there is no evidence of hostility, not only in the names of gods, but also in the names and legends of heroes, in matters connected with sacrificial worship, and in various other particulars. Brahmanism and Zoroastrianism, then, were originally one religion. The causes of the conflict which led to their separation we may gather from the Gâthas. After the migration of the Aryan tribes from their original home, they long led a pastoral life, paying little attention to the cultivation of the soil. This was their condition throughout the earlier Vedic period, while they lived in the upper Penjâb, whence they migrated to Hindustan proper. When they reached the highlands of Bactria, the Iranians, tired of a wandering life, formed permanent settlements and became agricultural. The other Aryans became hostile, and made many hostile excursions into the settlements for the sake of booty.* Before entering upon these excursions they besought the assistance of Indra by Soma sacrifices. Their religion, hence, became an object of hatred to the Iranians, and they came to look upon it as the source of all wickedness, and instituted the beneficent religion of Ahuramazda, which forever separated them from their Aryan and deva-worshiping brethren. The Zoroastrian, Mazdayasnian, or Parsi religion was not originated by Zoroaster. He alludes to old revelations, and praises the "fire priests" as possessed of great wisdom. (Yas. xlvi, 3, 6.) He teaches reverence and respect to the *Angra* or *Angiras* of the Vedas. (Yas. xliii, 15.) These Angiras are often connected with the Atharvans; *âtharva* is the general name of the priestly order in the Zend-Avesta. The Angiras and Atharvans are the authors of the Atharvaveda, which greatly resembles the Yashts and Vendidad. To the Saoshyantô, or "fire priests," perhaps identical with the Atharvans, it is said the Ahura religion was revealed, (Yas. xii, 7.) Several centuries may have elapsed before the appearance of

* Vend. Fars. 1 and 2; Yas. xxxiii, xlvi.

Zoroaster. He completed the separation of the hostile Aryan elements, established new laws, and absorbed the old religion of the fire priests (he himself seems to have been one of their number) into the true Parsi religion, and hence became its real founder.

But little is known concerning the life of Zoroaster. Greek and Roman accounts are legendary. Only in the Yasna does he appear as a real historic character. He belonged to the Spitama family. The Hêchadaspas appear to have been his nearest relatives. (Yas. xlvi, 15.) His father's name was Pôurushaspa. (Vend. xix, 4, 6.) One daughter is mentioned under two names, Haêchadaspânâ Spitâmî. His surname was Zarathushtra, which the Greeks changed to Zarastrades or Zoroastres, the Romans to Zoroaster, the Persians and Parsis to Zardosht. This name seems at first to have designated the office of high-priest, and, after having been worn by Spitama as high-priest, clung to him as pre-eminent in that office. When there were several high-priests in a district or province, Zarathushtrôtemô was sometimes used to designate the office of "the highest Zarathushtra." There might, then, have been many Zarathushtras before Zoroaster and during his life, yet the one called Spitama was alone the founder of the Parsi religion. His home was in Bactria. He lived probably not later than B. C. 1000. We place him B. C. 1200, as more probable.

Zoroaster was undoubtedly a great soul who enjoyed a large share of divine illumination. He passed through great spiritual struggles. The Vendidad preserves traditions which may refer to such struggles. Drukhsh, an evil spirit in the service of Ahriman, attempted to destroy him, but Zoroaster repeated the most sacred formula, Yâtha-ahû-vairyô, and the evil spirit was defeated; Zoroaster threatens the destruction of the evils produced by the demons of Ahriman. Ahriman tempts him to curse the Mazdayasnian religion, with the promise of the fortune of the traditional hero-king Vadhaghana. Zoroaster replies: "I will not curse the good Mazdayasnian religion, not (if my) body, not (if my) soul, not (if my) life should part asunder." He will smite the evils of Ahriman with the words of Mazda.*

The early Zoroastrian religion was strictly monotheistic.

* Vend. Fars., xix, 1, 2, 5–9.

The Saoshyantô, or "fire priests," worshiped good spirits, called Ahuras, "the living ones," of whom those who possessed creative powers may have been called Mazdâonhô, "joint creators," or "creators of all." Zoroaster reduced this plurality of gods to unity, and called the one supreme being Ahura-mazdâo, of which Mazdâo was the chief name, and Ahura an adjectival epithet. Both words were at first inflected, (in which, however, there was a difference of custom,) but afterward were united in a compound, Ahuramazda; at the time of the Achæmenians, Aûramazdâ; in the Sassanian times, Aûharmazdi; in modern Persian, Hôrmazd or Ormazd. Their conception of Ahuramazda was quite identical with the idea of Jehovah held by Job and other early characters of the Old Testament.

Zoroaster was told by Ahuramazda that the best way to guard against evil spirits was to utter his different names. He then gave twenty names, among which we find: "I am," "the living one," "I am the wisdom," "I am who I am, Mazda." These cannot but remind us of some of the names of Jehovah as revealed to men.

Ahuramazda is creator of all things, most munificent spirit, righteous, wisdom, everlasting, eternal, good, brilliant, glorious, happy, the essence of truth, manifesting his life in his works, primeval spirit, faithful, generous, father of the good mind, "having his own light," (Yas. xxxi, 7;) "originator of all the best things, of the spirit of nature, (*gâush*,) of righteousness, of the luminaries, and the self-shining brightness which is in the luminaries," (Yas. xii. 1;) giver of health, truth, piety, earthly good, and immortality; the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the evil.

Zoroaster was evidently staggered by the problem of evil. In attempting to solve it, he gave to one God two spirits, a beneficent spirit and a hurtful spirit.

Spentô-mainyush, and Angrô-mainyush, (Yas. xix, 9; lvii, 2,) "the two creators," "the two masters." These two spirits fought against the devas, but not against each other. "Spentô-mainyush was regarded as the author of all that is bright and shining, of all that is good and useful in nature, while Angrô-mainyush called into existence all that is dark and apparently noxious. Both are as inseparable as day and night, and, though opposed to each other, are indispensable for the preservation of creation.

The beneficent spirit appears in the blazing flame, the presence of the hurtful one is marked by the wood converted into charcoal. Spĕntô-mainyush has created the light of day, and Angrô-mainyush the darkness of night; the former awakens men to their duties, the latter lulls them to sleep. Life is produced by Spĕntô-mainyush, but extinguished by Angrô-mainyush, whose hands, by releasing the soul from the fetters of the body, enables her to rise into immortality and everlasting life."*

The transition from this form of Monotheism to the later dualism was easy. Spĕntô-mainyush, "the beneficent spirit," was taken as a name of Ahuramazda himself, and Angrô-mainyush, "the hurtful spirit," was opposed to Ahuramazda. Hence arose the Zoroastrian notion of God and Devil, each independent and waging war against the other. Certain abstract ideas representing the gifts of Ahuramazda were personified and became archangels, forming the celestial council over which he presided. These were Vohu-manô, Asha-vahishta, Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-Armaiti, Haurvatâd, and Ameretâd, meaning originally, respectively, "good mind," "the best truth," "wealth," "devotion and piety," "health," and "immortality."

Separate from the Ameshaspentas or archangels stood the archangel, Sraosha, who seems to have been a kind of mediator between God and man, the great teacher of the good religion. He points out the way to heaven and judges human actions after death; at least, a part in these offices seems to have been assigned to him. Like Ahuramazda, Angrô-mainyush (Ahriman) has an infernal council over which he presides.

Fravardin Yasht is dedicated to the praise of the *Frohars*, in the Avesta *Fravashi*, in the Cuneiform Inscriptions *Fravartish*, which means protectors. Every being, living, dead, or still unborn, has its own guardian spirit, Fravashi. Originally they represented only the departed souls of men, like the *manes* of the Romans, and the *pitaras* of the Brahmans. We may compare them with the *ideas* of Plato.

In favor of a primitive Parsi Monotheism we may consider such passages as the following:

In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base. And these two spirits united created the first (the mate-

* The "Religion of the Parsis," p. 304.

rial things,) one, the reality, the other, the non-reality. . . . Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit. . . . You cannot belong to both of them. (Yas. xxx, 3–6.)

Although Haug urges a primitive Monotheism, his translations, as may be seen above, do not make this as plain as could have been desired. (See, however, Yas. xlviii, 4, and other passages.)

If you choose the good spirit it will be well:

Ahuramazda gives through the beneficent spirit, appearing in the best thought, and in rectitude of action and speech, to this world, (universe,) perfection and immortality, wealth and devotion. From his most beneficent spirit all good has sprung in the words which are pronounced by the tongue of the Good Mind, (*Vohû-manô*,) and the works wrought by the hands of Armaiti, (spirit of the earth.) By means of such knowledge Mazda himself is the father of all rectitude in thought, word, and deed. (Yas. xlvii, 1, 2.)

Ahuramazda created the world in six periods in the following order: In the first period heaven was created, in the second the waters, in the third the earth, in the fourth the trees, in the fifth the animals, and in the sixth man.

There was a golden age in the reign of Yima, "the most sunlike of men," during which men and cattle were free from death, water and trees free from drought, food inexhaustible; there was "neither cold nor heat, neither decay nor death, nor malice produced by the demons; father and son walked forth, each fifteen years old in appearance." (Yas. ix, 4, 5.)

Besides the doctrines we have named, we may mention among the other original doctrines of Zoroaster, the following: The two-fold nature of man as body and soul, the two-fold origin of knowledge as heavenly and earthly, human responsibility, the value of prayer, angelic mediatorship, heaven and hell, immortality, a general judgment, future rewards and punishments according to the works, the resurrection of the body, the final overthrow of evil, and the renovation of all things.

A few quotations will give a fair idea of Zoroaster's teachings on some of these points:

I will proclaim, as the greatest of all things, that one should be good, praising only righteousness. Ahuramazda will hear those who are bent on furthering (all that is good.) . . . All that have been living, and will be living, subsist by means of his

bounty only. The soul of the righteous attains to immortality, but that of the wicked man has everlasting punishment. Such is the rule of Ahuramazda, whose the creatures are.*

The soul of the dead during three days sits near the head chanting the Gâtha Ushtavaiti, and experiences as much of pleasure each day as all that which it had experienced when a living existence.

On the passing away of the third night, as the dawn appears the soul of the righteous man appears, passing through plants and perfumes. To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more southern side, from the more southern quarters, a sweet scent, more sweet-scented than other winds. Then, inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of the righteous considers: Whence blows the wind, the most sweet-scented wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? Advancing with the wind there appears to him what is his own religion, (i. e., religious merit,) in the shape of a beautiful maiden, brilliant, white-armed, strong, well-grown, erect, tall, high-bosomed, graceful, noble, with a dazzling face, of fifteen years, with a body as beautiful in (its) limbs (lit. growth) as the most beautiful creatures. Then the soul of the righteous man spoke to her, asking, what maiden art thou whom I have thus seen as yet the most beautiful of maidens in form? Then answered him his own religion, I am, O youth! thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds, (and) good religion, who am thy own religion in thy own self. Every one has loved thee for such greatness and goodness and beauty and perfume and triumph and resistance to foes, as thou appearest to me.

The soul of the righteous then advances four steps and reaches the four grades in heaven—good thought, good word, good action, and the eternal luminaries. Before entering heaven, the angel Vohuman has given him a cup of Zaremaya oil, which has made him oblivious of all worldly concerns and prepared him for eternal happiness.

The course of the wicked is directly opposite in all its stages till he reaches the fourth or lowest grade in hell, "eternal glooms." †

The Vendidad adds somewhat more to this account:

After a man is dead, at daybreak after the third night, he reaches Mithra, rising above the mountains resplendent with their own rightful luster. The demon Vizaresho by name carries the soul bound toward the country of the wicked Deva-worshiping men. It goes on the time-worn paths, which

* Gâtha Ushtavaiti, Yas. xlv, 6, 7. † *Hâdôkht Nask*, Yt. xxii, 1–36.

are for the wicked and which are for the righteous, to the Chinvad bridge, created by Mazda, and right, where they ask the consciousness and soul their conduct in the settlements, (i. e., world.) She, the beautiful, well-formed, strong (and) well-grown, comes with the dog, with the register, with children, with resources, with skillfulness. She dismisses the sinful soul of the wicked into the glooms (hell.) She meets the souls of the righteous when crossing the (celestial mountain) Harô-berezaiti, (Alborz,) and guides over the Chinvad bridge. Vohumanô (the archangel Bahman) rises from a golden throne; Vohumanô exclaims: "How hast thou come hither to us, O righteous one! from the perishable life to the imperishable life? The souls of the righteous proceed joyfully to Ahuramazda, to the Ameshaspentas, to the golden throne, to paradise (Garô-nemâna.)*

Garô-nemâna is "the house of song," with which we may compare the Christian idea of heaven.

A splendor originally created by Ahuramazda attaches itself to the dead, causing them to rise.

This splendor attaches itself to the hero (who is to rise out of the number) of prophets (called *Saoshyantô*) and to his companions, in order to make life everlasting, undecayable, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, forever existing, forever vigorous, full of power, (at the time) when the dead shall rise again, and imperishableness of life shall commence, making life lasting by itself, (without further support.) All the world will remain for eternity in a state of righteousness; the devil will disappear from all those places where he used to attack the righteous man in order to kill (him); and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction.†

Garô-demâna, "house of hymns," heaven, where the angels sing hymns, is the abode of Ahuramazda and the righteous dead. (Yas. li, 15.) Another name is *ahu vahishta*, afterward shortened to *vahishta* only; modern Persian *bahisht*, "the best life," "paradise."

Drûjô-demâna, "house of destruction," hell, is the abode of the bad, especially the devotees of the Deva religion. (Yas. xlvi, 11.)

Chinvad bridge which the pious alone can pass, the wicked falling from it into hell, is also mentioned in the Gâthas. (Yas. xlvi, 10, 11.)

The resurrection and the renovation of all things are also mentioned in the Gâthas. (Yas. xxx, 9.) We see, then, that

* Far. xix, 28–32. † Zamyâd Yt. xix, 89, 90.

these were original doctrines of Zoroaster, and only reached a fuller development in the later Avestan writings.

The Zoroastrians divided into two parties; the Magi held to the primitive monotheism of their religion; the Zendiks, whose doctrines are expounded in the Bundahish, adopted the later dualistic doctrine. The Magi found a proof of the unity of the supreme Being in the term *Zarvan akarana*, "boundless time." (Vend. xix, 9.) This doctrine concerning "Zarvan akarana," which has been held from early Sassanian times to the present, resulted from a grammatical misunderstanding. Translating in the locative instead of nominative and the doctrine disappears: "The beneficent spirit made, he made (these weapons required to defeat the influence of the evil spirit) *in boundless time*, the immortal benefactors, (Amesh-aspentas,) the good rulers and good arrangers co-operated." (Haug.)

The Zoroastrian religion is emphatically in its spirit a religion of work, devoted especially to the encouragement of agriculture. The five most pleasing spots of this earth are: the temple, the home of the pious, cultivated lands, stables, and pastures. (Vend. iii, 1–6.) The history of the rise of Zoroastrianism shows its close connection with agriculture. The earth was considered especially pure, and, lest it should be defiled, the dead were exposed on an iron grating in the Dokhma, or the "Tower of Silence," to be devoured by fowls of the air, or to decay. The bleached bones fall through into a pit beneath, from which they are removed to a subterranean cavern.

This religion, which at one time prevailed throughout Upper Thibet, Cabulistan, Sogdiana, Bactriana, Media, Persia, and other contiguous territory, and, had it not been for the victories of Marathon and Salamis, might have extended widely over the world, is now confined to a very limited territory. In India, near Bombay, there are (1879) 132,000 Zoroastrians, or twenty per cent. of the whole population. In Yezd and Kirman and twenty-three other surrounding villages there are 8,000. A few are found in Teheran, Ispahan, Shiraz, and Baku. The whole number in Persia is 8,188. The Parsis of Yezd and Kirman are poor, degraded, and ignorant; those of Bombay, wealthy, intelligent, and philanthropic, even beyond the other inhabitants.

The Parsis are monogamists; they eat nothing cooked by a

person of another religion; they object to eating beef and pork. Their priesthood is hereditary, but the son of a priest need not become a priest unless he so wish. They have many and careful purification ceremonies.

They pray sixteen times per day, but none of them—not even the priests—understand the language in which these prayers are composed. They have no pulpits, and no discourses in the vernacular of the people. The Parsi devotee may recite his prayers for himself; or, at any time when he pleases, he may go to the fire temple and give something to the priests to pray for him. The priests are bigoted and superstitious. There may be a dozen priests who know the meaning of the *words* of the Zend-Avesta, but know not the language.

There are two parties among the Parsis, the Conservatives, and the Liberals. The Conservatives hold to all the old and traditional customs; the Liberals are striving to work reforms in abolishing the filthy purifications; in reducing the number of obligatory prayers, in customs concerning marriages, weddings, and funerals; and in the education of women, in all of which they have made considerable progress.

To the Parsi, the sun and other heavenly bodies, or fire, are symbols of the divine presence. In their Catechism (published less than fifty years ago) they say:

> We believe in only one God, and do not believe in any besides him, the God who created the heavens, the earth, the angels, the stars, the moon, the fire, the water, or all the four elements, and all things of the two worlds; that God we believe in. Him we worship, him we invoke, him we adore. Our God has neither face nor form, color nor shape, nor fixed place.

The commands God has sent us through his prophet Zoroaster are:

> To know God as one; to know the prophet, the exalted Zurthost, as the true prophet; to believe the religion and the Avesta brought by him as true beyond all manner of doubt; to believe in the goodness of God; not to disobey any of the commands of the Mazdiashna religion; to avoid evil deeds; to pray five times in the day; to believe on the reckoning and justice on the fourth morning after death; to hope for heaven and to fear hell; to consider doubtless the day of general destruction and resurrection; to remember always that God has done what he willed, and shall do what he wills; to face some luminous object while worship-

ing God. Your Saviour is your deeds and God himself. He is the pardoner and the giver. If you repent your sins and reform, and if the Great Judge consider you worthy of pardon, or would be merciful to you, he alone can and will save you.*

It will be seen how unjust it is to call the Parsi "Fire worshipers." They feel reverence in the presence of the sacred flame as it is a symbol of the divine presence. The priests protect the face with a veil lest their breath might defile the fire. They will not blow out a candle if they can help it. They are the only eastern nation not addicted to smoking. They cling to their creed, which has become so compact, for the very reason that they cannot read it from their sacred books; they cling to their creed with great tenacity of religions affection. Pure thoughts, pure words, pure deeds; this is the substance of its practical part. Its most earnest exhortation to every man is, "Be bright as the sun, pure as the moon." —*Müller.*

ART. V.—THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA.

WHATEVER sheds light upon the history and literature of the Israelitish people is of permanent interest to the Christian student. Christianity is not independent of Judaism. The Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, all spoke of Christ; and now that Christ has appeared, and brought life and immortality to light, we can read and understand the ancient Scriptures more perfectly than those to whom the prophecies first came. We, in a measure, see the end from the beginning, and may trace the gradual unfoldings of divine revelation from its comparatively indistinct beginning. The history and substance of the revelation are embodied in our Holy Scriptures, and whatever confirms and illustrates the Book of books, must, therefore, be of interest and value to the Christian.

The present century has surpassed all others in the amount of labor bestowed upon antiquarian research. The hoary monuments of Egypt, by the persevering efforts of such men as

* Catechism in the Guzerati, translated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, an adherent of the Parsi religion, Professor of Guzerati at University College, London; quoted by Max Müller in Chips, vol. i., pp. 169–174.

Young, Champollion, Lepsius, and Brugsch, have been made to yield up their secrets to the modern world. The deciphering and translation of the inscriptions on the monuments of ancient Babylon, Assyria, and Persia, have thrown great light both on the history and customs of those nations, and also on the narratives of Scripture. The minute and thorough exploration of Palestine, now in progress, promises to discover the sites of many a lost city, and to give fresh interest to the history of the Hebrew people. The zeal of research and exploration in these and other fields seems to be constantly increasing, for the discoveries already made are regarded as only a sort of first-fruits of a wondrous harvest.

Meanwhile, as we grow richer in such acquisitions, it is well for us not to neglect other treasures of antiquity. The sacred books themselves will never be superseded by all the hieroglyphic lore of Egypt, and all the libraries of Assyrian kings. The Book of Daniel is worth immeasurably more than the Rosetta Stone. And there are other ancient books, not held as sacred, but so connected with the history and literature of the Bible as to be of priceless value. Who would exchange the writings of Josephus for all that Assyrian research has yet produced? And yet there are other ancient books, quite neglected by even well-read Christians, and some of them scarcely known, which, if now first discovered, would be heralded as matters of the greatest moment to the Christian world. It is the purpose of this article to call attention to the character and value of some of these ancient writings.

Titles and Subject-matter.

The following books are found incorporated in most editions of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament: Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, Song of the Three Holy Children, History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and three Books of Maccabees. In some editions we find a Fourth Book of Maccabees, and the Prayer of Manasseh. Most of these books are also contained in the Vulgate version, and all of them, except Third and Fourth Maccabees, were translated into English and published with King James' version of the Bible. In this latter also appeared the Second Book of

Esdras. These books now commonly pass under the name Apocrypha, a word which means *hidden* or *secret*, and early came to be used by Christian writers to denote a class of books whose age and authorship were unknown. The word was also applied to forged, spurious, and heretical works. "Let us omit," says Augustine, "those fabulous books of Scripture which are called *apocryphal*, because their obscure origin was unknown to the Fathers." In another place he writes: "Apocryphal books are not such as have authority, but books whose original is obscure, and which are destitute of proper testimonials, their authors being unkown, and their characters either heretical or suspected."

By reason of their long and honorable association with the Septuagint and Vulgate versions of the Bible, these apocryphal books acquired a sort of semi-sacred character. They were frequently quoted as Scripture by the ancient Christian Fathers, and their incorporation with many modern editions of the Bible has given them currency and name. The Church of Rome has pronounced most of them canonical, and this fact has, perhaps, been one reason why Protestants have treated them with so little respect. They are rarely included in modern editions of the Bible, and still more rarely are they published separately. We are not aware that the Old Testament Apocrypha has ever been published separately in the United States.

The period of Jewish history between Ezra and the destruction of the Temple by the Romans was prolific of this class of books. A creative fancy evidently led some bold scribes to attempt to replace some of the lost books of the ancient Hebrews. Every reader of the Old Testament has noticed the references to "The Book of the Wars of the Lord," (Num. xxi, 14,) "The Book of Jasher," (Josh. x, 13,) "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," (1 Kings xi, 41,) and "The Book of Shemaiah," (2 Chron. xii, 15,) and numerous other books no longer known. These allusions probably suggested or inspired the composition of apocryphal stories, prompting inventive minds to construct a romantic narrative in connection with some ancient hero's name.

The contents of these several books are of a very varied character. We have history and fable, legend and romance, poetry and prophecy, and hence these books are invaluable for the light they shed on the history, civilization, life, customs and

beliefs, hopes and superstitions of the Jews, during the period from 300 B.C. to about 100 A.D. This was a notable period of transition and decay in Judaism, and much of its literature has a most intimate relation to the origin and early history of Christianity.

I Esdras.

Esdras is the Grecized form of the name Ezra, the famous priest and scribe who fills so important a place in Old Testament history. Many apocryphal traditions would naturally gather round his name. But this book might, perhaps, as well have been called the Book of Zerubbabel; for the writer's object seems to have been to give a history of the restoration from Babylon, and to immortalize Zerubbabel as the hero of a legend which forms the central portion and the only original section of his work. The legend is about three young men who contended for the honor of speaking the wisest proverb, (chaps. iii and iv,) and is a document of great interest and beauty. Its tribute to women and truth is worthy of a place among the choicest passages of ancient literature. With the exception of this legend, the book is but a loose compilation from the canonical books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The narrative is involved in inextricable confusion by making Zerubbabel live and act under the reign of Darius. The author was evidently a Jew, familiar with the history and sacred books of his people, but inexact and careless in his statements. He must have lived a century or more before the Christian era, for his work had acquired such currency and reputation that Josephus used it freely, and even followed it more closely than he did the corresponding biblical narrative. His name and country, however, are unknown. Among scholars he is often called the "Pseudo-Ezra," and the Greek text of his work has been thought to be of some value in emending certain doubtful passages in the Hebrew text of the canonical Scriptures.

II Esdras.

The book called "Second Esdras" in the English translation of the Apocrypha is known by different titles. In most of the Latin MSS. it is named The Fourth Book of Ezra, because it follows Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Greek Esdras, which are

reckoned as First, Second, and Third Ezra. St. Jerome calls it by this name, and thus it is most commonly designated by modern scholars. But the most appropriate title, and that which it still bears in the Greek Church, is "The Apocalypse of Ezra." It is generally believed that the book was originally written in Greek; but the original was lost, and we have its substance imperfectly preserved in five different versions, Latin, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac. The Latin version is published in Walton's Polyglot, and appears to have been the only version known to exist at the time of the issue of that great work, (1657.) The Armenian version was published along with the Armenian Bible of 1666. An Arabic version was discovered among the MSS. of the Bodleian Library, and was translated into English by Simon Ockley, and published by Whiston in the last volume of his "Primitive Christianity," (London, 1711.) Still later an Ethiopic version was found in the same library, and was published by Archbishop Lawrence, together with English and Latin translations of the same, (Oxford, 1820.) The Syriac version was published in 1868.

The first two and last two chapters of the Latin version are wanting in the other versions, and are allowed on all hands to be the work of a later writer. These interpolations are probably as late as the second or third century after Christ, and from the anti-Jewish spirit which pervades them we may reasonably infer that the author was a Gentile Christian. The temptation for Christian writers to add such passages to Jewish apocalyptic works was often strong, and the additions themselves are fully in keeping with much of the early Christian apocryphal literature. There exists a spurious Revelation of Esdras, a weak imitation of this book; also a Revelation of Paul, and of Peter, and of others. It is very manifest that this Second Esdras has been greatly corrupted by later writers and transcribers, and hence it is difficult to decide what was, and what was not, a part of the original work. The most extensive and thorough work on the text and exposition of this book is Prof. Volkmar's, in his "Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen." *

* "Esdra Propheta, nunc primum integrum edidit ex duobus manuscriptis Italae, adhibitis orientalibus prorsus recognitis, cum Commentariis et Glossario." Tubingen, 1863.

Notwithstanding the uncertainty of the text the work is of great value to the biblical scholar. The principal interpolations are so easily detected, that we can make out with tolerable certainty the leading doctrines of the original work. Its probable date is near the beginning of the Christian era. The expectation of the Messiah, the rewards of the righteous, the small number of the saved, the resurrection and judgment, the eternal counsels of God, the shortness and uncertainty of life, the wickedness and miseries of mortal men, their relations to Adam, the efficacy of good works—these and other related doctrines are prominent throughout the book, and some of the early fathers regarded and quoted its texts as if they were canonical and authoritative.

Tobit.

The book of Tobit contains the history of a pious Israelite of the tribe of Naphtali, who was carried captive to Nineveh, and, having passed through various fortunes, ended a long life greatly blessed and comforted by reason of God's special favor toward himself and his only son. The historical truth of the narrative seems to have been unquestioned till about the time of the Reformation, but internal evidence militates against this view. There are inaccuracies in the historical allusions and the general tone of the narrative, and the character of the miraculous events detailed are far removed from the lofty spirit and impressive dignity of the sacred history. The story of Asmodeus killing seven husbands of Sara, and then driven away by fumigation; the peculiar modes of Raphael's appearance and action; his deceiving Tobit, and his journey with a servant and camels to bring ten talents of silver from Rages to Ecbatana, are alien from the character and style of Holy Scripture. There may be a basis of truth for the narrative, but if so, the real facts have become hidden by the legends of tradition and the genius of the author.

But aside from the question of its historical character, the book of Tobit has a manifest religious and esthetic value. As a work of Jewish fiction it abounds in beautiful domestic scenes, exhibitions of paternal care and of filial devotion, and also of the confiding friendship and brotherly devotion of the scattered exiles. Its moral and religious lessons are numerous, and in a

doctrinal point of view it is specially valuable as showing the later Jewish notions of good and evil angels. The date and authorship are altogether uncertain, but from the writer's apparent familiarity with localities in the far East, and with the habits and customs of distant exiles, we may infer that he was an eastern Jew, and lived some time before the beginning of our era. The best scholars incline to a date somewhere between 400 and 200 B.C. It is generally believed that the book was first written in Hebrew or Chaldee, but the original text is lost, and the oldest and best version is the Septuagint, from which our common English version was made. There are numerous other versions, and they vary greatly in details, so that on the whole the text of Tobit is in a very corrupt and confused condition. In his scholarly and truly valuable "Exegetiches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen," Fritzsche has undertaken to construct a revised text, giving part in Greek and part in Latin.*

Judith.

It is reported as a saying of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, that he could accept the Book of Judith as a true narrative if only he could find a place for it in ancient history. But not only is there no place in ancient history for it, but we believe it is also impossible to make it self-consistent. It contains historical, geographical, and chronological statements which no efforts of learning or ingenuity have been able to harmonize with well-established facts. And yet there have not been wanting writers, at almost every period of the Christian Church, who have accepted the book as a genuine history.

The more ancient writers have assigned the history of Judith to a post-exile period, but they could not agree as to the exact date. The main difficulty was to find a Persian monarch who would answer to the Nebuchadnezzar of this book. Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes were all tried, but when or how any of these reigned at Nineveh, or why a post-exile writer came to call either of them by the name *Nebuchod-*

* See, also, "The Book of Tobit. A Chaldee text from a unique MS. in the Bodleian Library, with other Rabbinical texts, English translations and the Itala." Edited by Ad. Neubauer. Oxford, 1878. Also "Das Buch Tobias. Übersetzt und erklärt." by Heinrich Reusch, Frieburg, 1857; and "Das Buch Tobit, erklärt," by H. Sengelman. Hamburg, 1857.

onoser, we nowhere find explained. The kingdoms of Assyria and Media had perished long before the Babylonish exile, and Nebuchadnezzar, the great Chaldean conqueror, was too prominent a character and too well known to be spoken of by any historian as king of the Assyrians and reigning at Nineveh.

More recent writers have referred the book to a pre-exile period. Prideaux places the events narrated in the reign of Manasseh, after that monarch had been brought back from his captivity in Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii, 11–13) and had been restored to his kingdom.* The most recent work in defense of the historical character of the book is that of Wolff, who devotes thirty-six pages of his "Commentar über das Buch Judith" to a "Refutation of the chief objections to the historical worth and character" of this ancient work.† The principal results at which he arrives are the following: The Nebuchadnezzar of Judith is identical with *Kiniladan* of Ptolemy's Canon, and Arphaxad is the same as *Phraortes*, the son of Deioces, King of the Medes, who, having first subjugated the Persians, made war against the Assyrians, but was defeated, and perished with the greater part of his army, after he had reigned twenty-two years. (See Herodotus i, 102.) But to all this it is sufficient to reply, that the narratives of Herodotus and Judith, (assuming Arphaxad to be Phraortes,) do not well agree. Judith represents the Assyrians as the aggressors, (chap. i, 5, 13,) but Herodotus makes the Medes the invaders of Assyria. Instead of becoming master of Ecbatana, and utterly destroying the power of the Medes, as Judith affirms, the King of Assyria was soon after defeated in battle by Phraortes' son, Cyaxares, and Nineveh itself was taken. (Herod. i, 103, 106.) Judith says Arphaxad (i. e., Phraortes) fortified Ecbatana, (i, 2,) but according to Herodotus, it was Deioces, the father of Phraortes, (i, 98.)

But we have not space for this discussion. Let us only say that it is scarcely credible that the events of this book occurred during any period of biblical history, and received no notice by any sacred writer. We find no hint or allusion to it in the ancient histories, no mention of it in the writings of Philo or

* Prideaux's "Connection," vol. i, pp. 82–87.

† "Das Buch Judith, als geschichtliche Urkunde vertheidigt und erklärt," by O. Wolff. Leipsic. 1861.

Josephus; and we are driven to the conclusion that it is a late Jewish fiction of no historical value, and that its author was utterly indifferent as to historical and chronological accuracy. More plausible and satisfactory is the view of Volkmar, who maintains that "the Book of Judith is a poetical narrative of the historical victory of Judith or *Judea* over the Legates of the new Nebuchadnezzar *Trajan*, after his victorious war against the seemingly invincible new Medes or *Parthians*. The historical narrative is celebrated in the guise of Old Testament language for the feast of the Jewish triumph-day of Adar after Trajan's death."* Substantially the same view is advanced by Grätz, in his "History of the Jews," (English Trans., p. 96, ff.) He holds that the Book of Judith is a fictitious story, written about 116 A. D., to encourage the Jews of Palestine under the oppression of Lucius Quietus, who was sent thither by Trajan to put down insurrection. He conceives that by Nebuchadnezzar Trajan is intended, and that Holofernes is but a fictitious personage designed to represent the cruel Quietus. In a time of general despondency and gloom, the beautiful and pious Judith, representing "Judaism in transfigured personification," emerges from the dark background to inspire the Israelites with hope and confidence, and nerve their hands for war.

Luther regarded the work as a sort of allegory, "a religious fiction or poem," in which Judith represents the Jewish people, Holofernes godless and persecuting heathenism, and Bethulia the virgin purity of the Jews of that period. The same general idea is also held by others, who, however, refer its origin to the Maccabean times. According to Wescott, "the value of the book is not lessened by its fictitious character. On the contrary, it becomes even more valuable as exhibiting an ideal type of heroism, which was outwardly embodied in the wars of independence." †

Additions to Esther.

In the Septuagint version of the Book of Esther are found a number of apocryphal additions to the Hebrew narrative, which

* "Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen, Erste Abtheilung: Judith." Tubingen, 1860; p. 5.

† Smith's "Bible Dictionary," art. Judith.

have been translated and published in the Authorized Version of King James under the title, "The Rest of the Chapters of the Book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee." They can scarcely be regarded as pure inventions of the Greek translators, but their subject-matter probably consists of national traditions widely current among the Jewish people, which these translators gave definite shape and form in their version of the canonical Esther. Josephus cites them (Ant. xi, 6,) as historically true, though he must have known that they formed no part of the Hebrew Scriptures. Similar additions are found in the Chaldee Targum of Esther, as also in the Targums of other canonical books. We need not suppose that they are without any historical basis, though they are, doubtless, to be largely attributed to the inventive tendencies of the later Judaism to embellish and amplify the heroic narratives of sacred history. These additions to Esther aim to supply what, doubtless, many a pious Jew, like many devout Christians, deemed strangely wanting in the Hebrew book, namely, a noticeable religious and theocratic character. The name of God does not occur in the Hebrew book; these additions plentifully supply that defect.

Additions to Daniel.

The honored name of Daniel would naturally, like that of Esther, Ezra, and others, become associated with numerous traditions among the Oriental Jews. Three ancient documents, known as apocryphal additions to Daniel, have come down to us in connection with the Greek translations of the Old Testament. The English version gives them separately under the titles of "History of Susanna," "Song of the Three Holy Children," and "Bel and the Dragon." The first of these is found in the Septuagint at the beginning of the Book of Daniel, and is called in some copies "The Judgment of Daniel." Its design is to celebrate the womanly virtue of a pious Jewish matron of Babylon, and also to extol the wisdom of Daniel in proving her innocence, and in exposing the wickedness of two corrupt judges who sought her ruin. There may have been some basis of fact upon which the story rested, but in its present form it is evidently a highly embellished tradition of the later Judaism.

The song of the three holy Children is inserted in the Septuagint between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of the third chapter of Daniel. In the Alexandrian Codex it is placed at the end of the Psalms, and designated as hymns nine and ten, with the titles "The Prayer of Azarias," and "The Hymn of our Fathers." This position was, doubtless, given it on account of its liturgical character. It consists properly of three distinct parts. 1. The prayer of Azarias. (Verses 1–22.) 2. The angel's smiting of the flame of the furnace. (23–28.) 3. The song of the three companions. The first and third of these parts are probably not from the same author, and are not in exact harmony with each other.

The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon is found in the Septuagint appended to the Book of Daniel. The story belongs to the Ptolemaic period of Alexandrine Judaism, and was probably designed to fortify the Jews of Egypt against the prevailing superstitions of that land. The anachronisms and absurdities with which it abounds defy all serious claim for either genuineness or credibility. That Cyrus, the Persian, a Zoroastrian Monotheist, was a worshiper of the Babylonian Bel, is not to be supposed. That the temple of Bel was destroyed by Daniel is contrary to Herodotus and Strabo, who declare that Xerxes plundered and destroyed it. The worship of snakes and dragons, common in Egypt, was foreign to all we know of the Babylonian cultus. The Prophet Habakkuk flourished a century before the reign of Cyrus, and the story of his being carried by the hair of his head from Judea to Babylon, for the purpose of conveying a dinner to Daniel in the lion's den, is utterly preposterous. The work, like other similar productions, is chiefly valuable as illustrative of Jewish legendary lore.

The Prayer of Manasseh.

The captivity of the Jewish king Manasseh, recorded in 2 Chron. xxxiii, furnished the subject of numerous apocryphal legends. The Targum on Chronicles says that the Chaldeans made a brazen image, perforated all around with small holes, and shut Manasseh in it. Then they encompassed it with fire, and when the king began to suffer torture he prayed unto all the idols he had made, but they gave no answer. Then he

humbled himself and called upon the God of his fathers. As soon as he thus prayed all the angels that guard the gates of prayer, which are in heaven, closed those gates and all the windows of the sky, that his prayer might not be recognized. But immediately the tender compassion of the Lord was moved, and his right hand was stretched forth to help the penitent transgressor. He opened a window under the throne of his glory, listened to Manasseh's prayer, shook the world by his word, and cleft the brazen image, so that the captive king went free. Then Manasseh knew that Jehovah was God alone, who made the heavens and wrought these miracles.*

The apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh is evidently an attempt of some Jewish writer to supply the prayer referred to in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 18. There is a simplicity and directness about it which certainly speak in its favor, but we have no means of determining the place of its composition, its date, or its authorship. It is found in the Alexandrian Codex, and the Greek text was first published by Robert Stephens, at Paris, in 1540. It was also published in the Apostolical Constitutions in 1563,† and in the fourth volume of Walton's Polyglot, at the beginning of the apocryphal books. It also exists in a Latin version which is older than the times of St. Jerome.

The Wisdom of Solomon.

If the Proverbs of Solomon did not inaugurate, they certainly gave definite and permanent form to, the ethical philosophy of the Hebrews. It is beautifully observed by Stanley that Solomon was not only the Augustus, but the Aristotle of his age and nation. But the Israelite philosophy, discarding the rigid rules and speculative tendencies of Greek thought, followed a more simple and practical course. The Wisdom, celebrated in the Book of Proverbs, and extolled in all the later Jewish literature, has its deep foundations in religion, and aims directly to correct and exalt human life and character. "Her

* Fabricius, "Codex Pseud. Vet. Test.," p. 1100.

† In the Apostolical Constitutions the Prayer of Manasseh appears entire, and is followed by the statement: "There appeared a flame of fire about him, and all the iron shackles and chains, which were about him, fell off, and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction."—"Apos. Const.," book ii, 22. Eng. Trans. in vol. xvii of Clark's "Ante-Nicene Chr. Library."

seat is the bosom of God; her voice the harmony of the world." With God before the foundation of the world, and during the creation, Wisdom evermore endures, pointing out the paths of righteousness, and leading to happiness, honor, and immortality.

This doctrine of Wisdom, by reason of Jewish contrast with Oriental and Occidental modes of thought, received various modifications with the lapse of time. The founding of Alexandria, in Egypt, opened a field for the commingling and conflict of all the leading systems of philosophy. Here Egyptian sages, Asiatic transcendentalists, Greek philosophers, and Jewish rabbins, met and disputed with each other. Here, encouraged by the Ptolemies, they founded schools and taught their several systems. Under such circumstances the diverse systems would naturally modify each other, and produce not a few eclectics.

Among the first settlers of Alexandria the Jewish population was conspicuous. Alexander himself gave them an eligible part of the city for their quarter, and allowed them equal privileges with the Macedonians.* Ptolemy Lagus transported great numbers of Jews from various parts of Palestine into Egypt, and multitudes voluntarily emigrated thither, so that the Jewish population of Alexandria became a very important portion of the whole Jewish nation. At Alexandria the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was made. Notwithstanding occasional persecutions, some of them very bitter, the Alexandrian Jews maintained their influence and power, and by their worship and teachings largely affected the civilization of the East.

The author of the "Book of Wisdom"† is now generally believed to have been an Alexandrian Jew, who flourished about one hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. Luther and several others assigned the authorship to the distinguished Philo Judæus; but the writings of Philo and the doctrines of this book are too often in conflict to allow of this opinion. The religious and doctrinal value of the book places it among the highest of apocryphal productions. "It seems impossible to study the book dispassionately," says Westcott, "and not feel that it forms one of the last links in the chain of providential connection between the old and new covenants. Though

* Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 1; *Apion*, ii, 4. † This is its title in the Vulgate.

it falls short of Christian truth, or rather is completely silent on the essential doctrines of Christianity, yet Christianity offers the only complete solution of the problems which it raises on the immortality of man, on future judgment, on the catholicity of the divine Church, and the specialty of revelation. It would not be easy to find elsewhere any pre-Christian view of religion equally wide, sustained, and definite. The writer seems to have looked to the East and the West, to the philosophy of Persia and of Greece, and to have gathered from both what they contained of divine truth, and yet to have clung with no less zeal than his fathers to that central revelation which God made first to Moses, and then carried on by the Old Testament prophets."*

Ecclesiasticus.

This book was originally written in the Hebrew tongue, but has come down to us in a Greek translation, made professedly by the author's grandson. It is one of the most important apocryphal books extant, and the only one of which we have any account of the author. The common title in the Greek MSS., and in the printed editions of the Septuagint, is, "The Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach," or simply, "Wisdom of Sirach." The name Ecclesiasticus is derived from the Old Latin version, adopted by Jerome, and has been the common title used by the Latin Church, and in most modern versions.

From the prologue to the book we learn that the author was an Israelite, who had given himself to a thorough study of the sacred writings of his people, and, having become deeply versed therein, he himself essayed to put in writing his own matured reflections upon discipline and wisdom. In chap. l, 27, he calls himself Jesus, [or Joshua,] the son of Sirach of Jerusalem, whence it appears that he was a Palestinean Jew. From other passages it also appears that he occasionally traveled abroad, observing men and things, and was frequently exposed to danger and death. The Greek translator, grandson of the author, informs us in the prologue that he came into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of King Euergetes. Thus doubtless he came in contact with the Greek spirit and culture which had its chief seat at Alexandria, and he thought it important to trans-

* Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." Art., Wisdom of Solomon.

late the learned work of his grandfather into the current language of the land. This translation has lived, and is the basis of other versions, but the Hebrew original is lost.

The great theme of the author is Wisdom. He endeavors to set forth its true nature, illustrate its practical value, and celebrate its praise. His work abounds in passages of the highest elegance and beauty, and not a few of its precepts have worked their way into the popular language of most modern nations. "It would be regarded by our modern wits," says Addison, "as one of the most shining tracts of morality that are extant, if it appeared under the name of a Confucius, or of any celebrated Grecian philosopher." We add two other extracts, to show the estimation in which the work is held:

In some respects the Book of the Son of Sirach is but a repetition of the ancient writings of Solomon. In some of its maxims it sinks below the dignity of those writings by the homeliness of its details for guidance of behavior at meals, of commercial speculation, of social advancement. But its general tone is worthy of that first contact between the two great civilizations of the ancient world, and breathes a spirit which an Isaiah would not have condemned, nor a Sophocles or a Theophrastus have despised. There is not a word in it to countenance the minute casuistries of the later rabbis, or the metaphysical subtleties of the later Alexandrians. It pours out its whole strength in discussing the conduct of human life, or the direction of the soul to noble aims.*

The ancients styled this book by the Greek name *πανάρετος*, signifying that it treats of and comprises all sorts of virtues. And, indeed, it is a system of morality so full and comprehensive that there is scarce any virtue which this excellent piece does not recommend, and lay down rules for obtaining; nor a vice or indecorum which it does not expose or discourage. It forms the manners of persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, by an infinity almost of useful maxims and instructions. One learns from it all the duties of religion and civil life, both what piety commands and politeness and good manners expect. Every one may here discover, so full and obvious is it, what he owes to God, to his country, his neighborhood, his family, and to himself; how to behave in the different relations of life, either to superiors or inferiors, friends or enemies; and so it may be thought, as indeed some have represented it, to comprise all the duties of both tables of the law. For the precepts which it delivers, and the principal matters which it treats of, may be divided into four sorts: 1. Theological. 2. Political. 3. Economical. 4. Ethical. These

* Stanley, "History of Jewish Church." Third Series, p. 300.

four heads take in most, if not all, the maxims of this book, so that what lies dispersed in the great volumes of philosophers and moralists, is collected into a short compass, and to be found here, as it were, in miniature. In short, the author has given us at once a whole treasury of wisdom, and with great profusion has intermixed reflections, counsels, exhortations, reproofs, examples, prayers, praises, etc.; so that truth appears in different attitudes and forms, but beautiful and engaging under each, and shines with so complacent a luster as cannot but draw attention and command respect and admiration.*

Baruch.

The apocryphal Book of Baruch contains, 1. An introduction, (chap. i. 1–14,) in which the writer, assuming to be Baruch, the son of Neriah, declares that he read his book to Jehoiachin, the nobles, and all the people who dwelt in Babylon, and sent it, together with money and other things, to Joachim, the high-priest, and all the people who were still at Jerusalem. 2. A penitential prayer, (i. 15–iii, 8,) in which the afflicted people of God are represented as confessing their sins, and greatly humbling themselves, and supplicating the divine compassion. 3. An address to Israel, (iii, 9–iv, 8,) in which the writer abruptly turns from prayer to exhortation, and calls upon the Israelites to heed the counsels of wisdom. 4. Jerusalem's lament, (iv, 9–29,) in which the Holy City is introduced as a forsaken widow, mourning over the sins and captivity of her children, yet hopeful, and urging her children to cry unto God that they may be saved. 5. Jerusalem comforted, (iv, 30–v, 9,) God himself addressing her, and giving assurance that the enemies shall be destroyed, and Israel shall be restored in great triumph and glory.

The language of the book is largely appropriated from the prophetical books of Holy Scripture, especially from Jeremiah and Daniel, but the chronological data are full of confusion and obscurity.

Epistle of Jeremiah.

In some editions of the Septuagint, and in the Latin and Syriac versions, this epistle appears as the sixth chapter of Baruch. Thus it stands in the English version of King James. But in the Codex Alexandrinus, and most editions of the Sep-

* Richard Arnald, "Commentary on the Apocrypha." Preface to Ecclesiasticus.

tuagint, it is placed immediately after the Lamentations of Jeremiah. It is entitled, "A Copy (*ἀντίγραφον*) of an epistle which Jeremiah sent unto them who were about to be led captives to Babylon, by the king of the Babylonians, to make known to them according as it was enjoined upon him by God." It admonishes the Jews that in Babylon they will come in contact with gross idolatry, and then proceeds at great length to expose the emptiness and folly of infidelity. Its form as an epistle is modeled after the twenty-ninth chapter of Jeremiah, and its exposure of idolatry is based chiefly on Jer. x, 1–16. Nothing is known of the author, and the time and place of his writing are uncertain. Fritzsche infers, from the purity of the writer's Hellenistic dialect, and his accurate acquaintance with idolatrous worship, that the epistle was written outside of Palestine, and probably in Egypt.

The Books of the Maccabees.

Of the several ancient works which bear the name of the Maccabees that commonly known as the First is by far the most important and trustworthy. It contains a history of the Maccabean struggles for independence, and covers a period of about forty years, from 175 to 135 B. C. Its value as a historical document, pertaining to a most important and interesting period of Jewish history, cannot be easily overestimated. It furnishes a connecting link between the Old and New Testaments. "It almost equals," says Luther, "the sacred books of Scripture, and would not have been unworthy to be reckoned among them, because it is a very necessary and useful book for understanding the eleventh chapter of Daniel."

It is generally agreed among critics that the author was a Palestinean Jew. This is seen from the lively sympathy which he evinces for his Maccabean heroes, and his intimate acquaintance with the localities of Palestine. From the absence of any reference to a future life, or to the resurrection of the dead, it has been inferred that the author was a Sadducee. The book was probably written in the latter part of the reign of John Hyrcanus, somewhere between 120 and 107 B. C. Most critics believe that the closing words of the book (chap. xvi, 24) imply that John was still living. They speak of the beginning of his priesthood, but make no mention of its

close, a fact somewhat singular, if his entire reign had already passed into history.

According to Origen and Jerome the work was originally written in Hebrew, and their statement is corroborated by a critical study of the Septuagint version, in which occur numerous Hebraisms of such a character as to show that they are literal translations of Hebrew or Aramaic expressions. The Greek translator is unknown, but the version was probably made soon after the composition of the original. The wide prevalence of the Greek language gave general currency to this translation, so that it gradually superseded and displaced the Hebrew original.

The Second Book of Maccabees, though ancient and full of interest, is of far less historical value than the First. The religious and hortatory aim of the writer is noticeable in connection with a most glaring neglect of chronological order, and an unpardonable inaccuracy in details. The style of the writer is very uneven, and he uses many new and unusual words. Though showing a clever command of the Greek language, he sometimes epitomizes his narrative with a rough brevity, (e. g. chap. xiii, 19–26,) which presents a strange contrast with the rhetorical flow of other sections, (e. g., iii, 13–30.)

The author claims to furnish only an abridgment of a larger work in five books, by Jason of Cyrene, (chap. ii, 23.) The date of Jason's work, and of this epitome, cannot be very approximately fixed. The original work must have been written after Nicanor's death, (160 B. C.,) and probably some time after, and the abridgment, of course, still later. Opinions on this point range from 150 B. C. to 70 A. D.

The religious character of the book is one of its most important and interesting features. God is throughout recognized as ordaining even the most minute affairs of his people; the calamities which befell them are looked upon by the Jews as a temporary visitation for their sins; and the sufferings which come upon the righteous in this common visitation are regarded as atoning for the sins of the rest of the people, and staying the anger of God. What is, however, most striking, is that not only did the Jews then believe in the surviving of the soul after the death of the body, in the resurrection of the dead, and in their reunion with those near and dear to them, but that God does not irrevocably seal the eternal doom of man immediately after his departure, and that the decision of our heavenly Father may be

influenced by the prayers and sacrifices of the surviving friends of the departed. The striking distinction between the religious sentiments of this book and those of the former goes far to justify Geiger's conclusion that the two books are party productions; the author of the first was a Sadducee and a friend of the Maccabean dynasty, while the author or epitomizer of the second was a Pharisee, who looked upon the Maccabees with suspicion.*

What is commonly known as the Third Book of Maccabees is, strictly speaking, not about the Maccabees at all. It narrates the persecutions and marvelous deliverances of the Jews of Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator. After his victory over Antiochus the Great, Ptolemy visited Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices at the temple. But attempting to enter the holy of holies, he was smitten by a judgment-stroke from Heaven. Thus baffled, he returned to Egypt and attempted to wreak his vengeance on the Jews who were settled in that country. He had them arrested and sent to Alexandria, designing there to have them crushed to death by intoxicated elephants. But his purposes were miraculously frustrated, his anger was turned into pity, and the Jews in his dominions were advanced to greater authority and glory than ever before.

There is no good reason to doubt or dispute the historical character of the main parts of the narrative. Its form shows the plentiful embellishments and exaggerations of a writer anxious to color his story with all that will give effect. But, aside from this, there appears a demonstrable basis of truth. It was probably written in the Greek language, at Alexandria, by an Alexandrian Jew. Its date is probably as early as 100 B. C. English translations of the Greek text have been made by William Whiston, (1727,) by Henry Cotton,† and by an unnamed writer in Bagster's edition of the "Apocrypha," Greek and English, in parallel columns, (1871.)

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is a philosophical treatise. In this respect it noticeably differs from the other books of this name; for, while it records numerous events of Maccabean history, it makes all subservient to a philosophical argument. The incidents recorded are brought to illustrate and confirm

* Ginsburg, in Kitto's new "Cyc. of Bib. Literature." Art., Maccabees.

† The "Five Books of Maccabees," in English, with Notes and Illustrations. Oxford, 1832.

the fundamental proposition that religious principle is master of the passions. The book is usually printed in editions of Josephus' works, where it is entitled "Josephus' Treatise on the Maccabees, or on the Supremacy of Reason." But the Greek text of the Codex Alexandrinus is supposed to be the most ancient and preferable. Modern critics quite generally reject the opinion, once entertained, that Josephus was the author. It is rather believed to be the production of an Alexandrian Jew, and probably written about the beginning of the Christian era. It is chiefly valuable for illustrating the religious beliefs and moral philosophy of the Jewish people at that time. Like the Second Book of Maccabees, it teaches the doctrine of the resurrection, and that the death of the righteous is a vicarious atonement. English translations are given in Cotton's "Five Books of Maccabees," and Bagster's "Apocrypha," mentioned above.

In the Paris and London Polyglots appears still another Book of Maccabees. It is published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, under the title of "Second Maccabees;" but Cotton, who made an English translation from the Latin, entitled it, "The Fifth Book of Maccabees." It contains the Jewish history of 178 years, from the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the temple, to the murder of the two Maccabean princes, Alexander and Aristobulus, (184 to 6 B. C.) Of its historical value and general trustworthiness there can be no doubt, but it can scarcely be classed with the Old Testament Apocrypha.

Differing from the above-named books in their literary history, but like them in general character and worth, is another class of ancient Jewish writings, which we may appropriately, and for the sake of distinction, call *Pseudepigrapha*. This word implies that the titles of such books are false, and that they were not really written by the persons whose names they bear. And this is equally true of some of the books called apocryphal. Under the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha we may name the following: The Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Revelation of Moses, The Assumption of Moses, The Book of Jubilees, The Psalms of Solomon, The Ascension of Isaiah, The Revelation of Baruch, and, perhaps, The Sibylline Oracles. These ancient works, however falsely named, are all of great importance in the department of

Sacred Literature; but they are rare and costly, some of them not extant in an English version, and consequently hardly known to many an intelligent Christian reader. Our space will not allow us to present their contents in the present article.

The Question of Canonicity.

Most of these apocryphal books were in existence and well known before the Christian era. That the New Testament writers were familiar with them is rendered probable by numerous coincidences of language.* They are frequently quoted as Scripture by the ancient Christian fathers, such as Clement of Rome and Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Origen, Hippolytus, and Athanasius. This honorable treatment of these books was, doubtless, largely owing to the general use, among the early Christians, of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. "In proportion as the fathers were more or less absolutely dependent on that version for their knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, they gradually lost in common practice the sense of the difference between the books of the Hebrew Canon and the Apocrypha. The custom of individuals grew into the custom of the Church; and the public use of the apocryphal books obliterated in popular regard the characteristic marks of their origin and value, which could only be discovered by the scholar."† Augustine seems to have been the first who included the apocryphal books in the Canon of Holy Scripture. Yet in some parts of his writings he distinguishes between certain books, as the Maccabees, which were used in the Church, but not included in the Jewish Canon. Westcott observes that this great father of the Western Church "frequently uses passages from the apocryphal books as co-ordinate with Scripture, and practically disregards the rules of distinction between the various classes of sacred writings which he himself lays down. He stood on the extreme verge of the age of independent learning, and follows at one time the conclusions of criticism, at another the prescriptions of habit, which from his date grew more and more powerful." This enlargement upon the Jewish Canon received the sanction of

* Compare 1 Esdras iii, 12, with 2 Cor. xiii, 8; Tobit iv, 15, with Matt. vii, 12; Judith viii, 27, with 1 Cor. x, 10; Wisdom iv, 10, with Heb. xi, 5; Eccles. v, 11, with James i, 19; Baruch iv, 7, with 1 Cor. x, 20; 1 Macc. iv, 59, with John x, 22.

† Westcott, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." Art., Canon.

one of the Councils of Carthage, and of several of the Popes of Rome. Finally, in 1546, the Council of Trent decreed: "If any one shall not receive these books entire, with all their parts, as they are wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and the old Latin Vulgate edition, for sacred and canonical, and shall knowingly and intentionally despise the traditions aforesaid, let him be accursed." In another decree the same Council declared, "that this same old Vulgate edition, which has stood the test of so many ages' use, in the Church, in public readings, disputings, preachings, and expoundings, be deemed authentic, and that no one, on any pretext, dare or presume to reject it." This, of course, settles the question with all such as accept the infallibility of Popes and Councils.

But the Protestant Churches have rejected the apocryphal books from the Sacred Canon. They have generally acknowledged their value for reading and study, and in some places sanctioned their public use in the Church services, but have denied their authority in matters of faith. The argument against their canonical authority is decisive, and may be outlined as follows:

1. These books were not among those which were received as sacred Scripture in the days of Jesus and the apostles. There can be no reasonable doubt that "the law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms," referred to in Luke xxiv, 44, were identical with the "only twenty-two books which contain the history of all past times, and are justly believed to be divine," mentioned by Josephus, (*Apion*, i, 8.) There is evidence that Josephus knew and used some of our apocryphal books, but he never treated them as Holy Scripture.

2. These books are not mentioned in the catalogue of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, (A.D. 175,) who made a special journey to the East to learn by careful inquiry the number and names of the sacred books of the Old Testament.

3. Origen, (A.D. 200,) who was very familiar with the apocryphal books, and frequently quoted them as Scripture, nevertheless affirms that the sacred books of the Hebrew canon were only twenty-two, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

4. The same testimony is repeated in substance by Athanasius, (A.D. 330;) Hilary, (350;) Epiphanius, (360;) Gregory

Nazianzen, (390;) Amphilochius, (390;) and the Councils of Laodicea, (367;) and Chalcedon, (451.)

5. Then comes the weighty testimony of St. Jerome, (A.D. 400,) the author of the Latin Vulgate, who enumerates the twenty-two books of the Jewish Canon, and declares, (Prologus Galeatus,) that "whatever are beyond these must be put in the Apocrypha." He also expressly says in the same connection that the Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus son of Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and the Pastor, "are not in the canon." In another place he adds: "The Church indeed reads the books of Judith, and Tobit, and Maccabees, but does not receive them among the canonical Scriptures."

6. To all this add that, notwithstanding the decrees of Popes and Councils, a succession of the most learned writers of the Western Church, down to the period of the Reformation, maintained the position of Jerome in rejecting from the canon the so-called Apocrypha. And even after the decrees of the Council of Trent were published, there were Roman Catholic divines who thought it strange "that five cardinals and forty-eight bishops should take it upon themselves to decide so peremptorily in regard to points of religion of so much weight, declaring books to be canonical which had thus far been regarded as apocryphal, or at most uncertain, and making a translation authentic, which in numerous passages departs widely from the original text." *

Deutero-Canonical Character.

Although these books were never included in the Jewish Canon, and internal as well as external evidence shows that they have no authority as well-authenticated sacred books, their connection with the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, and their extensive use in the Christian Church, have given them a character and prominence which has been designated as *Deutero-Canonical*, that is, having a kind of secondary authority. We have noticed above how Augustine distinguished between canonical books, and books that might be used in the churches. This distinction seems to have been observed by the principal writers during the Middle Ages. The apocryphal books are

* See Stowe's article on "The Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, and the reasons for their exclusion from the Canon of Scripture," in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," for April, 1854.

spoken of as "doubtful Scriptures," "excellent and useful, but not in the Canon," "not equaling the sublime dignity of the other books, yet deserving reception for their laudable instruction." When the first complete edition of Luther's Bible appeared, in 1534, these doubtful books were placed by themselves between the Old and New Testaments, with the title: "Apocrypha; that is, Books which are not to be considered as equal to Holy Scripture, and yet are useful and good to read." This same arrangement was followed in Coverdale's English translation, (which was printed in 1535,) and was adopted in the principal English translations down to and including that of King James in 1611. The Sixth Article of the Church of England, after enumerating the commonly received canonical books of the Old Testament, "of whose authority there never was any doubt in the Church," says: "And the other books the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet it doth not apply them to establish any doctrine;" and then follows a list of the apocryphal books according to their order in King James' version. In the Book of Homilies these deutero-canonical books are cited as Scripture, and treated with reverence; and in the Book of Common Prayer they are spoken of as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. The Confession of the Dutch Churches, (1566,) after naming the canonical books, "respecting which no controversy existed," has the following: "We make a distinction between these and such as are called apocryphal, which may indeed be read in the Church, and proofs adduced from them, so far as they agree with the canonical books; but their authority and force are by no means such that any article of faith may be certainly declared from their testimony alone; still less that they can impugn or detract from the authority of the others." The Helvetic Confession (1566) holds substantially the same position. The Westminster Confession declares that the "Apocrypha, not being of divine confirmation, are no part of the Canon of Scripture, and therefore of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings." From all this it will be seen that the apocryphal books have held a historical Church importance, even among those who denied their canonical authority.

Profitable for History and Doctrine.

From what we have observed above of the dates, contents, and character of these ancient books, it will be seen at once that they must be of great value in tracing, through a most important period of their history, the movements, customs, and opinions of the Jewish people. In some of these books appear the later Jewish notions of the Messiah who was to come; in others we read of their struggles against idolatry, and their attitude toward the Gentile nations around them. In one place we find encouragement to offer prayers for the dead; in another, prayer and fasting are extolled; in another, great stress is put upon the necessity and importance of almsgiving. The doctrines of the unity and holiness of God, of Providence and grace, and of the ministry of good and evil angels, appear in various connections. We may also discover, in several books, evidences of the great doctrinal variance between Pharisee and Sadducee, exhibiting itself unconsciously in the narratives of different authors. Thus in First Maccabees we find no allusion to a future life, or to the resurrection of the dead, although the narrative offered plenty of opportunity for such allusion, had these doctrines formed a part of the writer's creed; but in Second Maccabees we have accounts of tortured martyrs, expressing in the hour of death their confidence that in the resurrection they would receive again the very limbs which their persecutors mangled and severed from their bodies. Various other ideas of life, death, immortality, resurrection, and future judgment are to be found scattered here and there through the several books,* so that it is evident the Old Testament apocryphal literature must necessarily hold an important place in biblical and theological study, and is in some degree like the inspired Scriptures of God, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." (2 Tim. iii, 16.)

Criticism and Literature.

Although these books are allowed on all hands to be very ancient and valuable, they have received from critics and scholars comparatively little attention. The most considerable attempt

* See Dr. Bissel on "Eschatology of the Old Testament Apocrypha," in "Bibliotheca Sacra," of April, 1879.

at an English commentary is the work of Richard Arnald, and is more than a hundred years old. It is entitled: "A Critical Commentary on such Books of the Apocrypha as are appointed to be read in the Churches, namely: Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, Baruch, History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon; with Two Dissertations on the Books of Maccabees and Esdras. Being a Continuation of Bishop Patrick and Mr. Lowth." (London, 1753.) But two German scholars, Fritzsche and Grimm, have furnished a complete and thorough commentary, entitled: "Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testamentes." (Leipsic, 1851–1860.) This able and exhaustive work treats all the books commonly included in the Apocrypha, with the exception of Second Esdras. Notes, more or less full, on the apocryphal books, may be found in the fifth volume of the "Critici Sacri," and in Calmet's Commentary. A very thorough examination of these books is also given by Eichhorn in his "Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments." (Leipsic, 1795.) Compare also the other leading works on Biblical Introduction, such as those of Horne, (Ed. Davidson,) De Wette, Keil, and Bleek, (German editions,) Gray's "Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha," and Wilson's "Books of the Apocrypha, with Critical and Historical Observations."

There are numerous valuable treatises on separate books, such as Wolff on Judith, Reusch, Sengelmann, and Neubauer on Tobit; Van der Vlis, Volkmar, and Ewald on Second Esdras; and Cotton and Keil on the Books of Maccabees. See also Hilgenfeld's "Die Jüdische Apokalyptic," (Jena, 1857,) and numerous articles by the same author in the German periodical, "Zeitschrift fur wissenschaftliche Theologie." Valuable suggestions and information may also be found in Prideaux's "Connection," Ewald's "History of Israel," (vol. v, Eng. trans.,) Stanley's "History of the Jewish Church," (vol. iii,) and Milman's and Graetz's "Histories of the Jews." And especially valuable and comprehensive are the articles touching these books, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," (American ed., 4 vols.,) Kitto's "New Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," M'Clintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature," and Herzog's "Real-Encyclopädie," (new edition, now issuing from the German press.)

The original texts and ancient versions are given in the fourth volume of Walton's "Polyglot." The Greek texts appear in the various editions of the Septuagint, and have been published separately by Fabricius, Augusti, Apel, and others. The latest and best is that of O. F. Fritzsche: "Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece," (Leipsic, 1871.) Bagster & Sons, of London, publish the Greek and English in parallel columns. The Latin texts are found in the editions of the Vulgate. The Syriac versions were separately published in 1861 by Lagarde. Wahl published, at Leipsic, in 1853, a special lexicon for the Apocrypha, entitled: "Clavis Librorum Vet. Test. Apocryphorum philologica."

Just as this article goes to press, (November, 1880,) the Scribners issue, as a supplemental volume of the American edition of Lange's Commentary, a large octavo of 680 pages, entitled: "The Apocrypha of the Old Testament; with Historical Introductions, a Revised Translation, and Notes Critical and Explanatory;" by E. C. Bissell, D.D. The author is said to have devoted several years, in Germany and in this country, to the special study of the Apocrypha, and his work, which seems in fullness and critical accuracy to surpass even that of Fritzsche and Grimm, will meet a *desideratum* in our biblical literature which has long been felt.

Art. VI.—BAIRD'S "RISE OF THE HUGUENOTS."

History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France. By Henry M. Baird. Two volumes. 8vo. Charles Scribners' Sons.

We have in these two handsomely printed volumes the latest and best results of scholarly research into the history of a period which, with the new hopes of Protestantism in France, has acquired a fresh interest. Several historians, French, German, and English, have treated the subject, and original materials are abundant; but the investigations of Professor Baird have included numerous documents brought to light in a recent period, and the solution of certain questions which conflicting statements had left in doubt. The manuscript collections preserved in Paris and Zurich have been carefully consulted for the latter purpose; while the mass of contemporary corre-

spondence, hitherto inedited memoirs and important State papers, now published and still in serial course of publication, have been drawn upon to enrich these pages. The author refers in his preface particularly to the Astor Library, in New York, which he has found surprisingly well furnished for the prosecution of his studies, and it is a credit to the Library that so exhaustive a treatment of this subject could be conducted chiefly by its aid. The more familiar chronicles and memoirs of the period in question, as well as the prominent historians, have evidently been well read and digested, and we have here a work quite unequaled on the subject for extensive research and copiousness of illustration, as exhibited both in the text and in the notes and dissertations.

Indeed, the present work is the product of special studies continued through nearly twenty years, and of an ardent interest in the theme, conceived, as we know, by the author in his youth, which has prompted him to a careful and faithful performance of his task. We have, therefore, the satisfaction of reading pages in which every statement has been well weighed. The style is characterized especially by sobriety, which is, nevertheless, quite devoid of dullness. The conception which the author has formed of the true historian's work is the presentation of a finished but plain record of facts which shall be attractive to the reader rather by its transparency than its brilliancy of expression. The most exciting events are narrated without passion, and yet with a clearness and force which brings them the more effectually under the eye of a calm judgment. These volumes will have a deserved place as the classic American history of the events to which they are devoted, side by side with the works of Prescott and Motley, though differing from them both in rhetorical qualities. One feels at once, in reviewing here the rise of French Protestantism, that he is treading on more carefully explored ground than when carried along by the somewhat ardent imagination of Dr. Merle d'Aubigné; though it would be, doubtless, unfair to bring the truly interesting and valuable, but professedly fragmentary, chapters of the latter,* which touch the same subject, into full comparison with the present systematic work.

* "Histoire de la Réformation en Europe au temps de Calvin." 8 vols.

Though systematic and thorough, Professor Baird's history does not, indeed, comprehend all that we might wish to see treated in this connection. This was not to be expected. The development of Protestantism gave rise to civil strife in France under circumstances of absorbing interest. After the period of passive submission to persecution, the successive civil wars, of which there were no less than seven in the century, the remarkable characters they developed, the tragic scenes enacted in connection with them—the political relations of Protestantism—these are the matters of special prominence in this epoch in France, and such as chiefly engage the attention. A more precise and fuller presentation of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system of the French Protestants, and a more extended history of the Synods in which it was perfected, would have been welcome. A fuller chronicle of facts concerning the methods and work of propagating the new faith would, of course, possess great interest: but the narrative must have some limit. The author has evidently not thought fit to extend the plan of his work very far beyond the external relations of the subject. Yet the historical student has certainly much to be thankful for in these two stately volumes of six hundred pages each. The general state of the kingdom, of society, and the Church, at the opening of the period, is exhibited in a clear and interesting manner, in those points more immediately related to the fortunes of the rising Reformed faith. The wide scope and intricate action of political influences, both internal and foreign, during this period in France have been well studied, and the different authorities carefully balanced to secure a just statement of fact. The author is specially to be commended for the evident impartiality which marks his judgment on events and characters. If the truth of history compels the restatement of facts in the conduct of the Catholic party toward their opponents which we can only abhor, so likewise does Professor Baird not shun to record corresponding acts, though far less in number and magnitude, on the part of the Protestants, as particularly in the course of the civil wars; while the erroneous conceptions concerning the rights of conscience every-where prevalent, and the partial barbarity of the times, are seen to be to a large extent the occasion of these painful events.

The period treated in the work before us embraces about

sixty years, extending from the beginning of the reign of Francis I., in 1515, to the death of Charles IX., in 1574. This was the period of the "Rise" of the Huguenots of France, at the close of which, having survived five sanguinary wars, "they stood before the world a well-defined body that had . . . proved itself entitled to consideration and respect." Our author lays before us at the outset valuable observations on the general condition of the kingdom, upon which the limits of this article will forbid any enlargement, although a consideration of such matters contributes much to a full understanding of the subject of this history. The constitution of the Parliaments, the university and municipal corporations, the condition of the clergy, and the relation of the Crown to all these bodies, are chief features in the case. The arbitrary institution by Francis I. of his Concordat with the Pope, the provisions of which continued to be recognized down to the Revolution, and which effectually nullified the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis and of Bourges, that palladium of Gallican liberties, and substituted for electoral rights in the Church the royal prerogative of appointment, is a point of marked importance. The spiritual indifference of the clergy, the non-residence of the chief officials, the incompetence and general negligence of others, and the dissolute manners of many, were noted in those times by the Catholic authorities as the principal causes of the spread of the Reformation.

If we attempt now a general survey of events in the period before us, which, it may be thought, present interest in the subject will warrant, we can do no more than touch upon certain portions of the narrative. The highly dramatic character of the period and its development of most important consequences for the interests of mankind will receive but imperfect illustration.

A genuine ray of the light about to rise upon Europe shone in the heart and scholarly mind of Jacques Lefèvre, of Etaples, in Picardy, who came to a professor's chair in the Sorbonne in the later years of Louis XII. Of humble origin, but pure morals and attractive spirit, his active mind and travel abroad made him a master in varied learning. He is credited with having "restored letters to France." In his commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, in 1512, he clearly enunciated the doctrine

of justification by faith. Further utterances of like purport occasioned his condemnation by the Sorbonne. Guillaume Farel of Dauphiny was his pupil. Both, like the Wesleys, were scrupulous observers of religious duties and ceremonies. "Together they frequented the churches and united in the pious work, as they regarded it, of decking out with flowers the pictures of the saints to whose shrines they made frequent pilgrimages." But the teacher saw the coming light, and more than once exclaimed to his pupil, "Guillaume, the world is going to be renewed, and you will behold it."

A conspicuous example of the more spiritual class of prelates was Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux. He was the envoy of both Louis XII. and Francis I. to the papal court, where he conceived, it is said, his desire for a reform of the Church. Lefèvre was invited to his diocese in 1521, and there made a translation of the Scriptures into French, which was freely read in the churches of the diocese, to the great joy of the people. Farel had accompanied his teacher, and Gérard Roussel and Mazurier, both eloquent speakers, followed. The bishop himself was zealous in pronouncing against abuses and in commending the new preachers. With all this activity Meaux seemed likely to be another Wittemberg. But, alas! the opposition of the monastic orders, and the power of the University and the Parliament, proved too strong for the bishop, who retracted his former utterances in favor of reform. The preachers were compelled to withdraw, which Farel did in 1523, going home to the Dauphiné, where he labored zealously, and thence to Switzerland; Lefèvre and Roussel, in 1528, retiring to Strasburg. Roussel's courage was inadequate to a course of decided activity in the new movement. Lefèvre also shrank from bold action, was patronized by the Queen of Navarre, and resided at last near her court at Nérac. His reputed confession of remorse at the close of his life, for having "basely avoided the martyr's crown," is confirmed by a memorandum in Farel's own handwriting, recently discovered in the Geneva library. Merle d'Aubigné gives a highly interesting account of the meeting at Nérac between Calvin and Lefèvre.* The latter also met Farel again at Strasburg. Farel was a man of the people who spoke in all places—in the field or by the road-

* "Hist. de la Réf. en Europe au temps de Calvin," iii, 32.

side—with a fiery eloquence "which penetrated the heart and swayed the masses." He was not, however, to be the leader of the Reformation in France. No less a man than Calvin was fitted for that work.

But the Reform party had at the outset a warm friend at court. If Calvin came later to instruct by his writings, and sent letters of hearty encouragement to the martyrs from his stronghold in Geneva, the ardent sympathies of Margaret of Angoulême, the king's sister, and later Queen of Navarre, cherished the movement of the new faith, and she remained ever a friend to the leaders and sufferers in the cause; although toward the last she gave, under certain circumstances, her countenance to persecution.* Her youth was devoted to study, and many of her verses evince a poetic talent equal to that of Marot. At court she exhibited great intelligence, and was consulted on every occasion. The Bishop of Meaux was her confessor, and an extended correspondence between them exists. She wrote encouragingly to him in the days of his efforts for reform. "I assure you," she said, "that the king and madame are entirely decided to let it be understood that the truth of God is no heresy." Her conception of reform, however, was such as could obtain within the Church. Her religion was of a mystical cast; she abhorred disputation, and would preserve external unity. But her personal devotion to evangelical work was very marked. "There was not in the sixteenth century," says Merle d'Aubigné, "an evangelist, at least no woman, more active than she." Her "Mirror of the Sinful Soul," † issued in

* Baird, i, 226.

† Merle d'Aubigné observes: "These verses contain voices of the soul and aspirations toward heaven which had been for a long time unknown to the world." For a specimen see "Les Marguerites de la Marguerite," i, 63.

"Oh Jesus Christ! des âmes vrai pêcheur!
Mon avocat, mon unique sauveur!
Je ne crains plus d'être jamais défaite,
Car vous avez justice satisfaite.

"Unie à Christ je ne puis avoir peur,
Peine, travail, ennui, mal ni douleur,
Très faible suis en moi, en Dieu très forte,
Car je puis tout en Lui qui me conforte.

"Ni de ton ciel l'infinie hauteur,
Ni de l'enfer l'abîme et profondeur,
Ni le peché qui me fait tant de guerre,
Ne me peuve séparer un seul jour,
O père saint! de ton parfait amour."

Paris in 1533, was condemned by the Sorbonne, which, with other indignities shown to his sister at the instigation of the theologians, greatly enraged the king. Margaret cherished an ardent love for her brother, as recorded in many of her writings, but it is not easy to measure the extent of her influence with him in religious matters.

There was much in the character of Francis I. to attract regard. He was tall, athletic, of fair complexion, and so distinguished for courteous manners as to be called "Le roi des gentilshommes." "No ruler of the day," says our author, "surpassed him in gravity and nobility of bearing." He was, however, addicted to sensuality, and was often guilty of duplicity. He had little affection for the pope, quite disliked the monks and the Sorbonne, but lacked earnestness in religious matters. Martin says: "More than once, indeed, the flame which had touched the Elector of Saxony appeared to glow upon the heart of Francis I.; but Louise of Savoy was too corrupt, and her son at least too volatile, too far removed from the sense of an interior life and a serious spiritnality, to admit of any decision under the guidance of truly religious motives." *

But Francis was, after the dictates of his nature, in ardent sympathy with the Renaissance spirit of the times; and this made him friendly to the Reformers, for at the outset all the truly learned favored them. The king's cultivation of art could not, perhaps, directly contribute to incline him toward a more simple faith and a stricter rule of morals, yet it doubtless had no little influence in liberalizing his disposition. Francis rendered genuine aid to learning. He renewed the decree of Louis XII., which introduced the French language in place of Latin into the public documents. He established, (1530,) contrary to the will of the Sorbonne, the Collége de France, after the model of the Italian universities, with new systems and free lay instruction. Erasmus was called to the post of director, but declined. In the same spirit the king upheld Lefèvre against the Sorbonne, and favored the measures of Briçonnet at Meaux. He read the Bible freely with his sister, and in the earlier years evidently felt no hostility toward the Reformers.

Of the influences brought to bear upon Francis to change his mind in this regard, probably the most effective was the idea,

* "Histoire de France," viii, 149.

studiously urged upon him, that "*a change of religion necessarily involves a change of governments.*" He was also made to listen to slanders against the Protestants to the effect that they were one in spirit with the rebellious Anabaptists of Germany. The German ambassador in Paris declared to him that "the Protestants only wanted to rob the Church of its wealth, would have no ranks in society, no marriage, no rights of property, no king." Policy, moreover, at various times, and especially in furthering his designs upon Italy, required him to maintain friendship with the pope. On the other hand, with a view of strengthening himself against his rival, the Emperor Charles V., Francis, on different occasions, professed the most favorable sentiments toward the Protestant princes and leaders of Germany. He invited Melanchthon to Paris, and proposed a very liberal plan for the pacification of the Church. His duplicity and purely political aims were, however, made apparent. Still, intense interest was every-where excited in the negotiations. The Teutonic nations might be said to have become Protestant. Italy and Spain were moved. What would be the course of the Romanic peoples? All eyes were turned to France as the predominant representative of the latter element. Moreover, at the papal court itself there were strong signs of a new spirit. From the time of Leo X. an "association" for the reformation of the Church existed at Rome. The party of Contarini labored for the general pacification of the Church; they obtained in the Conference of Ratisbon (1541) a very liberal scheme, which, however, was nullified by the curia. The French king proved unequal to the demands of this great crisis, and Professor Fisher* has very justly said: "Francis, by his undecided and vacillating attitude, brought upon his country incalculable miseries—civil wars, in which France became not the arbiter, but the prey of Europe."

It is uncertain whether Francis ever read the dedication to the king which Calvin published with his "Institutes," a work first issued in its unexpanded form in 1536. Calvin was born in 1509 at Noyon, a small city of Picardy; received a Church benefice at the age of twelve, but later studied law, though interested finally in a profound examination of the Scriptures, which resulted in his gradually embracing evangel-

* "History of the Reformation."

leal views. At Paris he was charged with being the author of Rector Cop's evangelical address, delivered in November, 1533, which compelled the flight of both from the city. Calvin went to Angoulême, where he decisively renounced the Romish Church. Professor Baird distrusts the account given by Merle d'Aubigné, and others, of Calvin's preaching at this period in the "caverns" of Poitiers, and earlier in Paris and Bourges.* At Basle, in 1535, he first conceived, according to our author, the idea of giving a practical direction to the great work which he had been composing, sending it out as a defense for the Protestants of France before the king. On his return from the Court of René, in Ferrara, he proposed to retire to Germany, where he might serve his Protestant fellow-countrymen by a course of quiet study; but in passing through Geneva (1536) he was detained there by Farel, with great urgency of entreaty, that his commanding energy might be made of service to the struggling Protestant Church in that city of exceedingly varied social influences, of intellectual activity, of gay and dissolute life. The difficulties encountered by Calvin, and the long reign of his influence at Geneva, the energetic impulses which went out thence through the thirty printing-presses, the missionaries, and letters of the leaders, into France, are well known. The year 1534, when violent placards against the Roman Catholic mass were posted on the walls of Paris, which provoked a cruel persecution, was a marked epoch for the French Protestants. The king thenceforth exhibited a decided aversion to them. Hope could no longer be fixed upon the Court, and the followers of the Reformed faith learned to look toward Geneva and its great ecclesiastical ruler for their encouragement. With Francis faithful to them they would have remained "Lutherans," as they were generally called; but henceforth they became Calvinists.

Professor Baird does not hesitate to acknowledge Calvin's participation in the illiberal views of the age concerning the rights of conscience, and leaves him chargeable with promoting the execution of Servetus. Calvin "did, indeed, desire and urge that Servetus should be punished capitally, . . . but the other principal Reformers of Germany and Switzerland—Melanchthon, Haller, Peter Martyr, and Bullinger gave their

* Baird, i, 201, note.

hearty indorsement to the cruel act."* The condemned Protestants themselves confessed that real heresy ought to be punished with death. Farel wrote of himself that he "was most worthy of any punishment imaginable, if he seduced any one from the doctrines and faith of Christ." In further illustration of the subject of the persecutions, see the account given here and in other historians of the barbarous practices of the age in the forms of punishment used for different offenses. The origination of the course of persecutions in France is chargeable not upon the king, but upon the Sorbonne, the Parliament, the queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, and the chancellor, Duprat. We cannot here note the history of the severe measures adopted, nor trace the heroic record of the martyrs. Sometimes indiscreet and unjustifiable acts were the occasion of arrest, as in the instance of the iconoclastic rage which broke out in Paris, 1528–30. The king had, before the year of the placards, on certain occasions expressed a decided hostility to heresy; but from that year onward persecution became systematic in the kingdom, and the reign of Francis I. did not close (1547) till he became in a great degree responsible for the bloody deeds of the Baron d'Oppède in the Vaudois villages of Provence.

Henry II. is said to have had all the faults of his father with but one of his excellences—physical prowess. Dull of understanding, he was easily influenced by his surroundings. He had married Catherine de Medicis, the niece of Pope Clement VII., and the latter's fatal gift to France in 1533. Diana of Poitiers was the avaricious mistress of the king; Anne de Montmorency, a valorous but rude soldier, the constable of the realm. The rivalries of noble houses and factions, and schemes of personal ambition, now became prominent at court. The house of Guise, sprung from the Duke of Lorraine, appears upon the scene. In 1538 James of Scotland married Mary of Lorraine. Their issue was Mary Stuart, married to the Dauphin, afterward Francis II., and the Guises thus rose to arrogate a regal dignity which they claimed to deduce from Charlemagne.

Francis, Duke of Guise, was a soldier of great ability, but ignorant, it is said, in all other matters, and in religious affairs

* Baird, i, 212.

led by his brother Charles, who, on the death of his uncle, John, succeeded him as Cardinal of Lorraine. The extravagance of the court during this reign, and the selfishness everywhere prevalent in grasping after offices of profit in Church and State, is generally attested by historians. "France," says our author, "became a scene of rapacity beyond precedent." The patronage was chiefly in the hands of the Guises and Montmorencies.

Neither Henry nor his advisers had any sympathy for the Reformed faith, and persecution raged. Nevertheless the new religion grew, was openly embraced by persons of high rank, and the Protestant party exhibited more and more that predominance of gentle blood and superior intelligence which characterized it in France. Antoine de Bourbon, titular King of Navarre, was the first prince of the blood. He had married Jeanne d'Albret, who, as daughter of the king, Henri d'Albret and Margaret, was Queen of Navarre. They resided at Pau, where their son, afterward the illustrious Henry IV., was born. After listening to the Protestant preachers in his southern home, Antoine joined their assemblies in Paris. His brother, Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, also declared himself a Protestant, and likewise their cousin, François d'Andelot, son of the Marquis de Châtillon. D'Andelot sent Protestant books to his brother, the Admiral Coligny, while the latter was detained prisoner of war.

Notwithstanding the dread of the Inquisition, the first Protestant Church was organized at Paris, in 1555, after the model of the Geneva Churches, and others followed in different cities. On May 26, 1559, the first National Synod of the Reformed Church assembled secretly in the Faubourg St. Germain, and adopted a Calvinistic Confession of Faith and Presbyterian form of Discipline.* Strange to say, they recognized the principle that "God had placed the sword in the hand of the magistrate to repress the sins committed not only against the second table of God's commandments, but against the first." The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, so disastrous for France, as asserted by our author and most historians,† was made to terminate

* Professor Baird quotes, for the best account of the Synods, Aymon, "Tous les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France." (La Haye, 1710.)

† Guizot takes a different view: "History of France," Eng. ed., iii, 268.

the war which Henry had been waging, partly in order that he might have opportunity to suppress heresy at home. His career was, however, suddenly cut short by the accidental thrust of a lance at a tournament, January 30, 1559.

With the brief reign of Francis II., who came to the throne at sixteen years of age, began the prominent activity of his mother, Catherine de Medicis; an activity which was rather that of management to render herself and her children secure in the seat of power than any course of bold scheming for more extravagant ends. Yet with so moderate an aim, she would evidently not be deterred by moral considerations from any means necessary to secure it. Though sufficiently capable of unjust and cruel designs, she had certainly much to do at the outset to protect herself and the king. A woman and a foreigner, of less than noble extraction, she needed the use of all her faculties amid the rivalries of the court. She had to draw strength from all parties, and keep her course between them, desiring neither the growth nor the destruction of either. There is good authority to believe that she was naturally averse to strife, and desired peace for herself, her own, and the kingdom. Such is, in substance, the view which Professor Baird is disposed to take of the stand-point of Catharine's policy, the view taken by other able writers in later years, and quite clearly presented by the judicious German historian, Soldan.* It is a more moderate and favorable conception of her character than has heretofore generally prevailed among Protestants.

The Guises were now supreme at court, and the opposition to this predominance of a foreign house centered itself in two families, the Bourbons (Antoine of Navarre and Louis, Prince of Condé) and the Châtillons, (the Cardinal Odet, D'Andelot, and Admiral Coligny.) These were all more or less attached to the Protestant faith. The King of Navarre was the natural head of the party, but, though a good soldier, proved himself in religious matters ever irresolute and worthless as a leader.

The Protestants had grown greatly in numbers during the last reign. There was a general popular discontent at the rule of the Guises and the continued persecutions. An open revolt was planned, from which Calvin earnestly dissuaded his followers, saying, "Let but a drop of blood be shed, and streams will

* "Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich," ii, 385, 387.

flow that must inundate France." Coligny was not consulted, for he was known to be averse to violence. Condé stood, however, as the "*chef muet*," La Renaudie being the actual leader. The court, in alarm, shut itself up at Amboise. The "Edict of Forgiveness" was issued March, 1560, though its provisions were not faithfully kept. It marked an epoch in the history of French Protestantism. "It is the point whence begins the transition from the period of persecution to the *period of the civil wars*." The scheme of assault was again set on foot, but defeated: the leader was slain, and the Duke of Guise took terrible vengeance on the captured conspirators. Such was the "Tumult of Amboise." The name "Huguenots" was now first applied to the Protestants. "Not a week had passed after the conspiracy of Amboise before the word was in every body's mouth. Few knew or cared whence it arose." Its origin is a vexed question. Professor Baird prefers to attribute the name to "some trivial circumstance that has completely passed into oblivion."*

At an assembly of Notables, August, 1560, the new chancellor, Michel de l'Hospital, who, though brought into power by the Lorraines, proved to be of just and noble character and a wise statesman, made a liberal address. He had before said, "What need have we of these tortures and flames? Let our virtues and orderly life defend us against heresy." The Bishop of Valence and the Archbishop of Vienne heartily defended the Protestant petition offered by Coligny, and denounced the abuses in the Church. Calvin now urged the King of Navarre to gather a body of nobles together and by the *moral force* of the demonstration secure from the coming States-general suitable terms for the Protestants; but he was incapable of any bold action. So urgent, on the other hand, did the Catholic party become at the court that a general crusade against the Protestants was planned by Francis II.; but he suddenly died, December 5, 1560.

Charles IX. succeeded his brother at ten years of age. Catharine easily persuaded Navarre to yield her the regency. On the fifth day of the new reign the States-general was convened at Orleans, its first session since 1483. The address of the chancellor, L'Hospital, is remarkable, as showing how strong a hold the prejudice of the age could have even upon

* Baird, i, 397. See especially an Appendix in Soldan, i, 608–625.

a mind so liberal. Religious opinions must, in his view, find some common expression in order to peace. "It is folly," he said, "to hope for peace, rest, and friendship between persons of opposite creeds. A Frenchman and an Englishman, holding a common faith, will entertain stronger affection for each other than two citizens of the same city who disagree about their theological tenets." A universal council is the panacea. The assembly was prorogued till a later date. These were days of prosperity for the Huguenots. The curiosity to hear the preachers grew. "The records of the chapters of cathedrals during this period of universal spiritual agitation are little else, we are told, than a list of cases of ecclesiastical discipline instituted against chaplains, canons, and even higher dignitaries for having attended the Huguenot service." A further tolerant edict from the king, in April, gave great impulse to the movement, so that Calvin wrote to Bullinger, (May 24, 1561,) "The eagerness with which pastors are sought for on all hands from us is not less than that with which sacerdotal offices are wont to be solicited among the papists. . . . And on our part we desire to fulfill these earnest prayers to the extent of our ability, but we are thoroughly exhausted." Letters from different parts of France, written about this time to Calvin and other leaders, recently discovered in Paris and Geneva, "present a vivid picture of the condition of whole districts and provinces." But the hopes of the Huguenots were again struck down by the "Edict of July," which forbade "attendance, with or without arms, upon *conventicles* in which preaching was held or the holy sacraments administered."

In the States-general, again assembled at Pontoise, the most radical propositions were formally urged by the Tiers Etat, and a national council to settle religious difficulties was demanded. Catharine, however, who herself desired peace, had projected a conference which should be under her own control, and had assembled at Poissy all the bishops of France "to take into consideration the religious reformation which the times imperatively demanded." In this presence all Frenchmen, "who had any correction of religious affairs at heart," were invited to appear with perfect safety. This was the celebrated Colloquy of Poissy, the only national assembly convened for the special discussion of religious affairs, which opened September 9, 1561.

Catharine had addressed a remarkable letter to the pope, urging the necessity of ecclesiastical reform. Beza had been specially invited to the Colloquy, and arrived at Paris three weeks after the opening of the session. Without the privilege of seats, the Protestant ministers were obliged to address the assembly from behind a bar. When Beza entered he reverently knelt upon the floor, and pronounced a portion of the Genevan liturgy. "A deep solemnity fell upon the assembly. According to one account of the scene, even the Roman cardinals stood with uncovered heads while the Huguenot minister prayed." Though the conference lasted two months, the result was a nullity in view of the object proposed. Catharine cast the whole blame upon "the conceit of the Cardinal Lorraine." The historian rather attributes the failure to the intrigues of the papal legate. The "Edict of Restitution" was obtained by the prelates, (on promise of money for the Spanish war,) which required the Huguenots to surrender all the churches hitherto occupied by them. It was only with great difficulty, as might be supposed, that the Huguenots were persuaded to submit to the enforcement of this edict; for they had in those times occupied the churches "wherever they constituted the bulk of the population." They continued rapidly to increase. In Paris their assemblies often numbered as many as 6,000 persons. Marriages and baptisms took place at the court "after the fashion of Geneva." Such were the indications that the king himself would soon become Huguenot, that "the leading Protestants at court could not hide their delight."

It is difficult to determine the real number of Protestants in the country at this period. Some accounts, which pretended to an estimate, put them as high as one fourth or one third of the population. Professor Baird deems that one tenth is a figure nearer the sober truth. The Protestants were, at least, specially strong among the nobility. They had the artisan class in the cities, though generally not so prevalent in those places as in the rural districts. Protestantism made less progress in the north than in other parts of France.

A promised Assembly of Notables took place at St. Germain, in January, 1562, and on the seventeenth of the month the edict known as the "*Edict of January*" was signed, which, while it maintained the "Edict of Restitution," repealed the

"Edict of July," and allowed unarmed assemblies for worship by day outside city walls, though the building of churches anywhere was prohibited. Other clauses insured the protection and oversight of the government. "From the moment of the publication of this charter—imperfect and inadequate as it manifestly was—the Huguenots ceased to be outlaws. . . Unhappily for France, this solemn recognition of Protestant rights was scarcely conceded by representatives of the entire nation before an attempt was made by a desperate faction to annul and overthrow it by intrigue and violence. . . The contention thenceforth was, on the one part, for the overthrow of the moderate rights insured by the Edict of January, and, on the other, for their defense."

Antoine of Navarre now openly gave his adhesion to the Romanists. It was the opinion of Beza that had he remained firm the civil war might have been averted. His queen, the high-minded Jeanne d'Albret, one of the most illustrious characters among the Huguenots, would not be persuaded. "Sooner than go to the mass," she said, "had I my kingdom and my son in my hand, I would cast them both into the depth of the sea."

Throckmorton's letter to Queen Elizabeth exhibits in a vivid way the attitude of different parties in the court at St. Germain in this crisis. Catharine, careful for her own power, and not interested for either religion, through jealousy of the Constable Montmorency, removes him from court; whereupon the King of Navarre, attributing this step to the influence of the Châtillons, insists that they shall remove also. Catharine then sends for the Prince of Condé, who is sick in Paris, and quite favors the continuance of the Reformed preaching in St. Germain. So ready was she to turn to either party. The Guises were at Savern, seeking the favor of the German Protestant princes, but did not deceive them. The Duke of Guise, on his return, passed through Vassy; and the great struggle which was to arouse and desolate the whole country was now invoked by a wanton attack of the duke, or at least of his followers, upon a congregation of Huguenots quietly worshiping in that town. The duke pleaded in justification that the attack was not premeditated, but that he was provoked to it. Notwithstanding Catharine's prohibition, he entered Paris at the head of 2,000

horse, and there met, by chance, the Prince of Condé, riding with a company of noblemen, students, and citizens to a preaching place. There was no collision. Condé subsequently retired with his small force to Meaux. Catharine was in great perplexity from which side to seek protection for herself and the king. Soubise and L'Hospital pressed her with arguments on the Protestant side. "Sometimes," says a recently discovered contemporary account, "they believed that they had gained every thing, and she was ready to set off for Condé's camp." Her letters to Condé appeal to him for aid. But the latter did not feel sufficiently strong to move. Guise, on the other hand, with a considerable force, proceeded to St. Germain and brought the king and his mother to Paris. "Weeping and sad, Charles is said to have repeatedly exclaimed against being led away contrary to his will." Thus it would seem that, by a mere turn of events, which a little stronger force with Condé at the moment would have prevented, the Catholic party, instead of the Huguenot, stood, at the outset, as protectors of the king. Catharine had no love for the Guises. Condé summoned Coligny to his side at Meaux. D'Andelot was also with him, and, at the head of 1,500 horse, "the flower of the French nobility," though "better armed with courage than with corselets," he moved upon Orleans, and was welcomed to the city, whence he issued to the world his justification for taking up arms.

We cannot here follow the course of events during the civil wars, but have rather sought to trace as clearly as brevity would permit the growth and circumstances of the Huguenot party, until the hour when it began to stand in armor for its rights. The Catholic party were, at the outset, amazed at the strength developed by their opponents. Of the marked incidents during the campaigns we only note that, on the one side, the Duke of Guise was assassinated in his camp before Orleans, (1563,) by a fanatical Spaniard, Poltrot, who accused Coligny and Beza of complicity in the deed. Both issued a full refutation of the charge. On the other side, the Prince of Condé was treacherously killed in cold blood, after the battle of Jarnac, (1569.) The same year D'Andelot, a valiant soldier, died of fever. The rumor of poisoning in this case is discredited. The young Henry of Navarre was now the nominal head of the

Huguenots, but the responsibility rested on Coligny. With indomitable spirit he rose from the dejection that followed the battle of Moncontour, and made his memorable march from the south toward Paris, more boldly conceived, because more hazardous, than Sherman's march to the sea. He arrived, superior to all opposition, at his own castle of Châtillon. Catharine "returned to the conviction she had expressed in former years, that the attempt to exterminate the Huguenots by force of arms was hopeless." The peace of St. Germain, the most favorable the Huguenots had yet attained, and, in our author's view, a sincere compact, was signed October 8, 1570, which closed the third war.

Now followed a brief period of quiet and hope for the Huguenots, yet big with a terrible fate which party jealousy and personal animosity, kindling the flames of religious fanaticism, were about to evoke. There was much talk of the marriage of Henry of Anjou, the king's brother, with Elizabeth of England. "Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis both gave, just now, abundant evidence of their disposition to draw closer to England and the Huguenots of France and the Gueux of Holland, while suffering the breach between France and Spain to become more marked." Coligny was summoned to court to prepare an enterprise in aid of the Netherlands, and warmly welcomed both by Catharine and the king. The Guises and the Spanish ambassador retired in disgust. While Alva was besieging Mons, (May, 1572,) and the Prince of Orange ready to cross the Rhine to its relief with 25,000 troops, Catharine inclined to favor the admiral's cherished designs in behalf of the Netherlands; but, on the defeat of Genlis, who was sent with a small Huguenot force to relieve Mons in June, she decided for the Spanish party. "The fate of the Huguenots had been quivering in the balance," and fell now against them.

Such was the fickleness of Catharine; the most prominent trait in her character. Our author particularly urges this view. He quotes the Italian Barboro: "Her irresolution is extreme. She conceives new plans from hour to hour; within the compass of a single day, between morning and evening, she will change her mind three times." Professor Baird remarks that Catharine has been an enigma, "whose secret has escaped so many simply because they looked for something deep and re-

condite, *where the solution lay almost upon the surface.*" The Duke of Alva, however, at the Bayonne Conference, admired her "circumspection," which he declared "he had never seen equaled." Professor Fisher, in like manner, concludes: "She was fully capable of weaving two schemes simultaneously, and of accommodating herself to either, as circumstances might dictate." As to her duplicity, Martin, who is sober in his judgments, and Michelet, use the strongest expressions for it. The same view, Professor Baird finds, as can be easily understood, not inconsistent with what he elsewhere says. "Her Machiavelian training, the enforced hypocrisy of her married life, the trimming policy she had thought herself compelled to pursue during the minority of the kings, her two sons, had eaten from her soul, even to its roots, truthfulness—that pure plant of heaven's sowing."

Coligny now more actively urged on the war in behalf of the Netherlands. He displayed before the king an undertaking "fitted to call forth the nobler faculties of his soul;" recalled to his mind the glory of former reigns; promised a large addition to the realm in the Low Countries, an expanded navy and marine, France influential in Europe, with religious peace at home. In his enthusiasm he went so far as to urge that the king should shake off the influence of his mother, as being prejudicial to the true interests of France, and find some occupation abroad for his brother, Henry of Anjou. Catharine, learning this, entreats her son with tears, and both are decided against the admiral's scheme by the false report that Elizabeth was about to withdraw her troops from Flanders. But Coligny again gains the ear of the king: and Catharine, fearing that even if France should prove victorious in the proposed war, "her own influence would fall into hopeless eclipse," now resolves to forestall such a result, and, for the purpose, "falls back upon a scheme which had been long floating dimly in her mind"—the destruction of the Huguenot leaders. The idea that any treacherous and bloody plot was definitely formed before this late day is discredited by Professor Baird. He argues that no such plan was concocted at the Bayonne Conference in June, 1565, whatever political league may have been there formed in the interest of Catholicism.* Most judicious histori

* See the full discussion in Baird, ii, 167–176.

ans of the present day, as Martin, Soldan, and Baum, take the same view, and they are supported by recently discovered documents.. Martin concludes from Catharine's insistance that the proposed marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret, the king's sister, should take place in Paris, that there was in her mind, "if not a project, at least a sinister half-thought," (*arrière pensée.*) Guizot reasons that a massacre of the Huguenot leaders had been long premeditated, but at the time and in the form in which it took place it was a sudden event, and a surprise even to the conspirators.* Professor Baird says: "It is impossible that Catharine distinctly premeditated a treacherous blow at the Huguenots, simply because she rarely premeditated any thing very long. I am aware that this estimate of the queen is at variance with the views which have obtained the widest currency; but it is the estimate which history, carefully read, seems to require us to adopt." †

The above-mentioned marriage, which drew the Huguenot leaders to Paris, had been talked of from the childhood of the parties, was long favored by the king and opposed by the pope, being bitterly denounced by the Catholic clergy, and was not, in itself, designed as a trap for the Huguenots. The latter had acquired confidence, or sought to cultivate it, on either side. They gave up four cities to the king; among them La Rochelle. Coligny declared that continued suspicion was folly. He readily agreed to the introduction of troops into Paris. Indeed, he longed for permanent peace, and was willing to run any risk to secure it. He fully trusted the king, even after the first attempt at assassination. The brave course he took, notwithstanding its fatal issue, doubtless rendered, in the juncture of affairs abroad, a high service to the general cause of Protestantism in Europe.‡ The wedding took place on the 18th of August, the festivities continuing three days. The king had lately heard of Alva's cruelty to French prisoners, and his attempt to extract testimony from them by torture, which put him in a rage against the Spaniards. It was then that "Catharine and her favorite son, Henry of Anjou, (afterward Henry III.,) came to the definite determination to put the great Huguenot out of the way." We have, in the confession of Anjou himself,

* "History of France," Eng. ed., iii, 376. † Baird, ii, 238.

‡ See an interesting passage in Michelet, "Hist. de France," ix, 404–406.

a partial history of the formation of the plot.* The genuineness of this document is accepted by our author; so likewise by Martin, though it is doubted by Ranke. According to this account, Anjou's fears were awakened by the angry air of the king after his interviews with Coligny, and he and his mother then consulted with the Duchess of Nemours, widow of the murdered Duke of Guise, who bitterly hated Coligny, being persuaded of his complicity in the crime. She, enlisting her son, Henry of Guise, and the Duke d'Aumale, "*herself arranged the details of the plan.*" † We can, perhaps, know nothing more certainly than this of its origination. Tavannes has charged it upon Catharine, ‡ and that has been the common view. We know that Anjou was active in the scenes of the 24th, and see what reason he had for hating Coligny. The motives of the Duchess and the young Duke of Guise to a deed of blood are apparent. Personal hate was evidently the spark that kindled this destructive fire, and went far to feed the flame. That Catharine should at least have been predominantly active in these pressing moments, we can well believe from that peculiarity of her character so aptly expressed by Michelet. Being dexterously ready to join her talents to any cause which seemed about to prevail, "she thus, although at the last, exercised an immense influence," (ainsi quoique à la suite elle influence infiniment.) § Salviati, the papal nuncio, whose report is credited by Professor Baird, wrote that "Madame, the regent, . . . having decided upon the step a few days before, caused the admiral to be fired upon," but that this was "without the knowledge of the king."

Upon the incidents of the massacre we do not dwell. The treacherous shot at the admiral, Friday morning, missed its purpose, and left him only wounded. Here was a frightful situation for the conspirators. Their plot would be revealed, and all would be over with them. The king was enraged and threatened vengeance. Catharine must, perforce, go with the

* "Discours du Roy Henry III." It may be found appended to the Mémoires de Villeroy, in the Petitot "Collection de Mémoires," Sér. 1, vol. xliv.

† Baird, ii, 435.

‡ The discussion of the question as to who is chiefly chargeable with blame in [illegible] has been naturally much affected by the national prejudices of the French and Italian chroniclers and historians.

§ "Hist. de France," ix, 363.

court to visit the bedside of Coligny. She there thought herself to have received new provocation. She took council again with those who had been already participants in crime, meeting them in the garden of the Tuileries. Now it was, in the judgment of reliable authorities which we have already quoted, that the plan of a general slaughter was first or definitely developed. It is true there is some reason to believe that both in the city and the provinces the train had been already laid in view of such an occurrence;* but it has been more recently argued that Catharine, for her part, would never have fixed upon or consented to so bold an undertaking until driven to it by such an overmastering influence as the anxiety and terror of this unexpected hour. All the witnesses, of different nationalities and parties, testify to the natural timidity and irresoluteness of Catharine. Excessive fear now impelled her to a course of utterly unreasonable, unrestricted cruelty. She imagined there was no hope of escape from the existing peril but in the entire destruction of at least the leaders of the opposite party. The conspirators were of common mind from the same or other considerations.

But the king must be won over; and the plotters hastened to fill his mind with the falsehoods they had forged. They said they had intelligence that the Huguenots were rising; that they had already sent to the German princes for levies of troops; that their alliances were such as to make their military strength far superior to the king's; the Catholic party were determined, unless the king acted with them, to elect a captain-general, who would take the king's place. All that was needed now, they said, was an order for the death of Coligny. After some parleying, suddenly a change came over the king, and he went to the very extreme of violence, doubtless carried away by a sudden and terrible passion, through the working of his imagination upon the idea of the dangers which the conspirators said surrounded him. He eagerly asked if there was no other way of escape. By one account, his mother, as her last argument, whispered in his ear: "Perhaps, sire, you are afraid." He rose quickly from his chair, enjoining silence, and "told us," says Anjou, "*in anger and in fury,* swearing by God's death, that since we thought it good that the admiral should be killed,

* There is no pretense to a full treatment of the question in this article.

he would have it so; but that with him all the Huguenots of France must be killed, in order that not one might remain to reproach him hereafter." Thus the furies, brought by evil counselors, took possession of the poor young king;—he was but twenty-two years of age. That the fatal order was given by Charles in a violent storm of passion, in which he hardly knew what he did, (even notwithstanding his persistence in the same determination,) seems also in some degree probable from the account in Sully's "Memoirs," of his words to the physician Ambrose Paré, who was at his side during all the hours of the massacre: "I do not know," he said, "what ails me; for these two or three days past both body and mind have been quite upset. I burn with fever; all around me grin pale, blood-stained faces. Ah, Ambrose! if they had but spared the weak and the innocent." Of Charles it has been said: "His virtues were his own; his vices the faults of his training." One of his tutors taught him to blaspheme. His admirers praised him for his skill in deception.* He was capable of devoted affection. His natural eloquence and love of music and verse would remind one of Francis I. and Margaret; but he had a strange passion for wild sports and dealing blows upon beasts in the chase which alarmed people. Then a fit of somber melancholy would take him, and he shut himself up, or exhausted himself with exercise in a forest until overcome by a fever. A portrait of him at sixteen years of age shows an eye somewhat wild, with an oblique glance, but not devoid of intelligence. His character, according to all accounts, evinced a marked change for the worse after the massacre—an increased impatience and violence; his features lost their gentleness, and remorseful visions, such as troubled him in the fatal hours of the crime, haunted his death-bed two years later.

Concerning this dark and terrible event, the remembrance of which cannot be absent from an account of the "Rise of the Huguenots;" concerning the manner in which the treacherous scheme was carried out, including the slaughter of Coligny on Saturday night; the general bloodshed on the 24th; the massacre in the provinces; the satisfaction expressed by the perpetrators; the decided approval pronounced by the pope at

* So Claude Haton: "Fut une grâce de Dieu comment le roi sut si bien dissimuler."

Rome, (after the deed,*) which cannot be explained away nor excused,† we can have no further words. We have only sought in this connection, by following the thread given us in Professor Baird's work, and the judgment of other late historians, to indicate the way to a somewhat clear understanding of the manner in which the event originated, believing that a better knowledge of the character of those engaged in bringing it about would also aid to a more just conception of the crime. The customs of the times, it may be remembered, as in the case of the earlier persecutions, go far, though we cannot say to palliate the deed, to soften our estimate of the extreme guilt of the perpetrators. They are conspicuous in their acts, and yet, if charity can reach the most dreadful offenses, should be somewhat screened from the glare of our condemnation in the shadow of their surroundings. "Massacre," says Guizot, "was an idea, a habit, we might almost say a practice, familiar to this age. . . . We have cited fifteen or twenty cases of massacre which, in the reign of Charles IX., from 1562 to 1572, grievously troubled and steeped in blood various parts of France without leaving any lasting traces in history." ‡

The king, in a circular letter to the several courts on Sunday, charged the affair upon the Guises, as though it were but an *émeute* between two factions; but the Guises compelled him to assume the responsibility, which he did before Parliament on the 26th, charging Coligny with the guilt of conspiracy, for the support of which accusation not the slightest evidence has ever appeared. "Not a scrap of a letter could be found inculpating Coligny—not the slightest approach to a hint that it would be well to make way with the king or any of the royal family. The most private manuscripts of the admiral, unlike those of many courtiers even in our own day, contained not a disrespectful expression, nothing that could be twisted into a mark of disaffection or treason." The Admiral Coligny is the one supreme figure which stands in the memory as we retrace this history, and the eye is fixed with unsurpassed admiration upon his sublime sacrifice of himself at the last. We have no

* Professor Baird acquits Gregory XIII. of any previous "knowledge of the disaster impending over the admiral and the Huguenots," ii, 574.

† Notwithstanding Bishop Spaulding's attempt in the "Nation" of Feb. 5, 1880.

‡ "History of France," Eng. ed., iii, 375.

space here to depict that truly virtuous, grave, self-reliant, frank and trustful nature, great in thought and great in heart, as set forth so worthily in the work before us. Montesquieu says of him that he carried only the glory of France in his heart; and Bossuet ascribes to him a lofty courage and patriotic purpose. Pressensé has lately said: "Coligny shows us what depth and earnestness the brilliant French nature might acquire after receiving the stamp of the Protestant faith. He is the ideal Frenchman."* The new "Life of Coligny," by Count Jules Delabord, is a most welcome contribution to the history of French Protestantism and to the universal store of Christian biography.

It remains to indicate two or three lines of special study in connection with the work under review, for which its own pages furnish much interesting material. We refer to the character exhibited in its different phases and under different circumstances by the Huguenots; to the different causes and circumstances promotive of their progress; to the rapidity and manner of their growth at different periods, and to the conditions under which the origin and development of French Protestantism in the sixteenth century may be put in comparison with its development and prospects to-day. The claims of the narrative have filled the allotted space in this article.

The spirit of the Huguenots was not crushed by the massacre. A fourth and fifth civil war followed that event before the painful death of Charles IX., May 30, 1574. At a bold petition which the Huguenots presented from their two military kingdoms of Nismes and Montauban, Catharine exclaimed, "Why, if your Condé himself were alive, and in the heart of the kingdom with 20,000 horse and 50,000 foot, and held the chief cities in his power, he would not make half so great demands!" At the end of the period our author concludes with these words: "A full half-century from the first promulgation of the reformed doctrines of Lefèvre d'Etaples found the friends of the purer faith more resolute than ever in its assertion, despite fire, massacre, and open warfare. No candid beholder could deny that the system of persecution had thus far proved an utter failure." Again we commend to the reader this admirable work of Professor Baird, the fruit of so much conscien-

* "Etudes contemporaines."

tious and painstaking study, and so rich in the results of recent historical discoveries.

NOTE.—In view of some criticism from other quarters, we ought, perhaps, to observe that Professor Baird is not to be understood as "apologizing," in his extended notice of the subject, for Queen Margaret's *Decameron*.

In reference to the remark on page 105, about the means and methods of propagating the Reformed faith in France, we would call attention to the interesting passages in the work under review, vol. i, pp. 400–403.

ART. VII.—PHASES OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FAITH AND INFIDELITY IN GERMANY.

THREE hundred years ago Germany was convulsed by the great conflict of the Reformation. It was at that time, more than any other country, the battle-ground of the opposing forces. For centuries Rome had enslaved the mind of man. Germany did more than any other country to break those iron fetters, and to liberate not only the mind but also the conscience of man. Again Germany is engaged in a great conflict; it is grappling with a terrible foe, a foe entirely different from the one with which it was engaged at the time of the Reformation, (although we must confess that the question with regard to Rome is also not yet settled.) Not across the Alps nor across the Rhine have we to look for this great enemy, for it has its stronghold in the very heart of Germany—it is a foe in their own land. We are referring to the great conflict between faith and infidelity, between the religion of the Bible and rationalism, pantheism, and materialism, with all their consequences. This conflict, we think, is fiercer and of greater importance than any that Germany has ever had with Rome or France.

Germany is, more than any other, the land of philosophical thinking, of scientific and historic research, and of the most radical and bold criticism; and the conflict with regard to religion, in which Germany is at present engaged, is, therefore, in an eminent sense of the word, a conflict of mind with mind. Taking all this into consideration, and also the present religious condition of Germany, we say not too much in asserting, that Germany is, to-day, more than any other country, *the* battle-ground of the Christian faith, for nowhere else is the conflict

so bitter and so fierce. It is, therefore, with a deep interest that Christians of America and England are watching the religious, social, and philosophic movements in Germany; for the whole Protestant world seems to feel that the conflict between faith and infidelity must there come to a decision. Dr. Cremer, in the late assembly of the Evangelical Alliance, held at Basel, made the remark: "On all sides the conflict is raging. It is true, the contest with Christianity is as wide as the world, (Weltkampf.) in which every-where humanity stands before the question, What think ye of Christ? But in the German Evangelical Church this conflict is more violent than anywhere else. The turning away from God, the more than Julian hatred of the Church and Christianity, has nowhere found such a strong expression as in Germany."

Let us take a bird's-eye view of the religious condition of Germany and some of its causes and consequences.

Thirty-six per cent. of the population of Germany are Roman Catholic, meaning by Germany those States that form the so-called German Empire, of which Prussia is the head, which excludes the German provinces in Austria, which are almost entirely Roman Catholic. It is Protestant Germany with which we have mostly to do in speaking of the great conflict, for there it is most intense.

From a Christian point of view the religious condition of Germany looks deplorable enough. There is unquestionably a great "chasm" between religion, or the Church, and what is generally called culture. In Berlin and other great cities thousands never see the inside of a church, excepting at certain times; for instance, when a noted preacher is expected to occupy the pulpit, or at marriages, confirmation of the children, funerals, etc.

Dr. Christlieb says: "A glance into the churches shows us at once the rupture between the majority of the educated and the Christian faith. Education is concentrated within our great cities, and it is here where we find the emptiest churches, if we find such anywhere, for with rapid increase of the population the multiplication of the churches has not in the least kept pace. In former times one could say with Faust: 'The message do I hear'; alas, I lack the faith!' but now very often not even the message is heard. In several parishes in Berlin and Hamburg

only one to two per cent. of the population are regular church-goers." * It is several years ago since this was written, but it is still true, for, if any thing, things have become worse in this respect.

How deep into worldliness and infidelity a great part of the population has fallen the following extracts, from men who are competent to judge, will show. Professor Cremer, speaking of the religious condition of Germany, in the late assembly of the Evangelical Alliance, held at Basle, says: "A gloomy aspect presents the mammonism of our people, the degeneration of the German youth, the pool of vileness and godlessness into which the social question has sunk." A German statesman writes: "Our commonalty has, with a few exceptions, lost its entire religious base, upon which its ideas of duty and morality rest. Upon a foundation that is so thoroughly destroyed, as the Christian convictions of our middle and working classes, it is impossible to build up anew. These people understand no appeal to their religious convictions." †

In the first month of the year 1878 the Socialists' demanded of the people a general coming out from the State Church, (*Massenaustritt.*) "This demand," says a German writer, "was followed by a mass meeting on the evening of the 23d of January, in the great hall of the *Handwerkerverein.* The papers generally agreed to the fact that since 1872, that is, since the great strike of the machine builders and colossal mass meeting, Berlin never has seen such a mass of people gathered together in one place as at this time." But it would be a great mistake if we were to apply to the whole of Germany what we find in her capital in this respect. The church-going people number in the great cities, on an average, about eight to ten per cent. of the population, and in the smaller towns and villages a great deal more, while there are many districts where almost every one goes to church.

What may astonish the American or Englishman most, when he visits Germany, is the observance, or rather the non-observance, of the Sabbath. By law work is prohibited, especially such work as is annoying to others; but this law, like so many others, is in most places a dead letter. In some places there is

* "Moderne Zweifel am Christlichen Glauben," p. 34.

† "Deutscher Volksfreund," vol. ix, p. 316.

more business done on Sundays than on any other days of the week. "After the attack upon the life of the Emperor, the police regulations were made more strict, and during the principal services of the day, from nine to eleven A. M., and from two to three P. M., all shops every-where were ordered to be shut; but there are only a few States and towns where the shops are not allowed to be open at all. The postal service is limited to shorter hours; letters and parcels are not delivered so often as on other days, and there are similar restrictions on the telegraph service. On the other hand, the railway traffic is left quite free, and not only do the trains run as on other days, but by almost every line there are also extra trains for the convenience of the holiday-makers. For example, the Rhine railway runs every Sunday and holiday, from the 15th of May to October, three extra trains in the afternoon, and other lines do the same." (Fr. von Schulte.)

One of the darkest appearances in Germany is the so-called *Socialism*, the party of the Social-Democrats. This party forms the extremest infidelity, and is filled with more than a pagan hatred toward every thing that pertains to Christianity or the Church. Its watch-word, as Lange says, is: "Dominion of the masses over the educated classes of the nation; dominion of the fist over the head; dominion of the sensual enjoyments over the inner man; a new world, in which force takes the place of right, robbery the place of property, and free-love the place of marriage." The leaders of the French Revolution and of the Commune are extolled as heroes and martyrs of the people. The spirit that animated many of the leaders of Socialism can be seen in the fact that the "Volksstaat," one of their organs, in full earnestness, asked the question a short time ago: "Was it possible for Socialism to go to work with more prudence, moderation, and timidity than it did in Paris in the spring of 1871?"* That this party has gained considerable influence in the country, no one that is acquainted with the social and political condition of that country will deny. The government is doing its best to suppress it; but whether such a movement can be entirely overcome by laws and police forces we very much doubt. It can now be kept down, but if it keeps on increasing it will finally break forth more furious than a

* "Der Socialismus," by Heinrich Geffcken, p. 8.

stream that has broken the dam that held back its floods. The general hard times and the poverty of the working-classes help to strengthen this movement.

It is especially in the press that the great conflict between infidelity and Christianity is fought, and a glance at the periodicals shows us at once how intense this contest has become. The secular press, which is, especially in Berlin, almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews,* breathes a very bitter spirit toward every thing that pertains to the Church. An English correspondent of one of the American papers wrote from Germany that his language had no word so malicious as that with which the German papers love to designate Christians, the word *Mucker*. Dr. Mühlhausser says: † "Not only a secular press has grown up, but an unreligious press has grown over our heads, and in it a deadly contest against Christianity is already beginning. The press is, above all other things, the means through which the attempt is made, and not without success, to draw our German people away from the Church and Christianity, and to offer a compensation in our modern culture. If our development goes on in this way much longer, the rent (riss) between Christians and non-Christians must become a yawning wound, through which our nation, in spite of its newly-gained political power and unity, will bleed itself to death."

In looking at these deplorable religious and social conditions of Germany, two questions present themselves to the mind: What is and has been the cause of all this? and, What will be the consequences of such a state of things? Interesting as the consideration of these questions might be, we have space for a very brief and incomplete answer only. Not a little of the blame for these deplorable conditions falls upon the Church itself. She, in a certain sense, reaps what she has been sowing for many years. It never would have come to this if she had always done her duty; but "if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted!" The dead orthodoxy of the last century prepared the way for rationalism, and this again, combined with the pantheism of German philosophy, more or less for the materialism of our time. Whereto should the poor

* Berlin alone numbers more than forty-five thousand Jews, more than the whole of England or France.

† "Christenthum und Presse," p. 4.

people go, when it found in the Church nothing but the dry religion of reason instead of the bread of life. Thousands remained nominal Christians, but knew not what religion was, and cared little, if any thing, for the Church; and thousands despaired of all religion, and fell into the open arms of infidelity. "Pantheism tried to dethrone God the Father, rationalism tried to dethrone God the Son, and now materialism is trying to take the crown off from the head of man."

And also for the evil of Sabbath-breaking the Church is more or less at fault; and also to a great degree the reformers and theologians of the sixteenth century. The continental theologians never laid stress upon the observance of the Sabbath as they should have done. In Luther's Catechism the third * commandment reads: "Thou shalt keep the *holiday*," (Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen,) instead: "Remember the *Sabbath day*, to keep it holy." Now, although Luther undoubtedly meant the Sabbath by *Feiertag*, yet it seems that the majority of the Germans does not so understand it. Therefore, we find that most German Christians attach greater importance to the keeping of the Feiertage, as Christmas and Good Friday, than upon the keeping of the Sabbath. German churches are generally crowded on holidays, for thousands go to church then that do not see the inside of a church the whole year around.

Calvin taught that to rest from labor on Sunday was no general duty. ("Inst.," ii, 8, 28–32.) And still further went the theologians, those of the Lutheran as well as the Reformed Church. They did not only admit—wherein they were right—that the fourth commandment does not bind us to the observance of the seventh day of the week, that is, Saturday, as Sabbath, but—and herein they were wrong—they claimed that it does not even bind us to the every seventh day; that is, if the Church had thought it best to change the length of the week from seven to ten days, observing every tenth day as Sabbath, she might have done so without violating the fourth command. So taught all the theologians of the continent; the English theologians making an honorable exception.† Now,

* In Luther's Catechism the first and second commandments are counted as one, which brings the fourth to be the third. To fill the number ten the last is divided into two.

† Compare "Ebrard's Dogmatik," vol. i, p. 548; also his "Kirchen und Dogmen Geschichte," vol. iv, p. 92; also "Staat v. Sontag," by Rieger, p. 24.

if this was the teaching of the theologians, what can we expect of the people? But the German theologians do not now thus nullify the Christian Sabbath. Their eyes are being opened on this question; and it is high time. We must, however, not be astonished that so many Germans in this country find our Sabbath laws such a burden to them.

But we will consider the other question, What will be the harvest that will grow up from this seed? What have we to expect if the people become more and more estranged from God? Certainly nothing good. What the results of infidelity and godlessness are France has shown us plainly enough. Think of the horrors of the French Revolution and of the terrors of the Commune! Even philosophers are alarmed to see the masses of the people philosophical and make practical use of their godless theories. The threatenings of Socialists, the repeated attacks upon the life of the German Emperor, and upon other crowned heads of Europe, speak plainly enough. If the Churches are becoming empty, the prisons are the more filled. Facts are stubborn things, and to them we appeal. "Beside the empty churches," said Mr. Sarasin, at Basel, "you can see the overfilled State prisons and reform institutions. In 1878 Berlin held 60,642 prisoners for examination, (Untersuchungsgefangene,) while the number was only 31,882 in 1875." This gives an increase of almost a hundred per cent. in three years!

A writer in the "Daheim"* says: "That the crimes had increased in the last decennium at a fearful rate we knew well enough; but now we are in a situation to prove it by figures. Mr. Stursberg, of Dusseldorf, the agent of the Rhenish Westphalia Prison Association, has given us, in an interesting little pamphlet, 'Die Zunahme der Vergehen und Verbrechen und ihre Ursachen,' more than abundant material as regards this matter." From his figures we obtain the following results: "In the seven years from 1871 to 1877 the number of crimes in the Prussian State has increased 100 per cent., while the population has increased only 4.4 per cent. from 1871 to 1875. But in the different categories of the crimes the increase was very unequal; for example, the crimes of immorality increased in the above-named space of time 294 per cent., murder,

* Vol. xv, p. 23.

138: fraud, 290; perjury, 77; arson, 77; infanticide, 76. In Wurtemberg and Baden the crimes of immorality experienced a fearful increase; the same may be said of Saxony. The language of these figures can be understood only too plainly; and it becomes more impressive still when we hear that not only the crimes have had such an increase, but also the number of criminals; and among those again the criminals under eighteen years have had a larger increase than the older ones." To this it has come. "Whosoever will not hear must feel." This proverb can also be applied to Germany; and still more can we apply the words of Scripture: "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." (Hos. viii, 7.)

But not only do these criminals come from the lower classes of the people, but the so-called cultured classes yield a considerable number of them. Nobeling, the would-be murderer of the German Emperor, was an educated man. We see that culture, that is, knowledge—for that is generally understood by culture in our day—does not make it alone. The heart needs education (Bildung) as well as the head.

But not only crimes increase at a fearful rate, but also suicides. In Switzerland there falls one suicide to every 4,450 of the inhabitants. Now what can be the cause of this? Nothing else but the despair of infidelity, the so-called *pessimism*. Pessimism is the last consequence of materialism and atheism, the darkest and most gloomy form of infidelity. Materialism teaches that there is no heaven on the other side of the grave—heaven is here. The philosophers of pessimism, Arthur Schopenhauer and Eduard von Hartmann, arise before the people, point to the unbounded misery and wretchedness of life, to sickness, death, and the grave, and say, with a clear, plain voice: The doctrine that heaven is on earth is an infernal lie; earth is no heaven but a hell, and not only a hell, but a hell without an end or an outlet. Pessimism is the philosophy of despair and of death. It shows us where man loses all faith in a living God and a divine providence, he despairs of life and of every thing else. While infidelity plunges the masses of the people into sensuality, it leads the more cultivated to despair: and it is true what Count de Maistre says: "The most cultivated and talented men feel, when they are given to infidelity, the misery of being more than any other. In vain

do they seek help in science and art; all their work is only toil without an end and without true satisfaction; their weariness of life increases with their age." It is well known how weary Alexander von Humboldt was of life; he thought it a great misfortune for any man to have a brilliant mind; the greatest blessing was to be born a blockhead.

Whereto pessimism leads a person, the following pessimistic confessions of several infidels will show. The poet Lenau says:

> "Loveless and without God! the way is dreary,
> The wind upon the streets is cold: and you?
> The entire world is in despair and weary."

David Friedrich Strauss confessed: "The giving up of the faith in a divine providence is certainly one of the most sensitive losses that can befall man. You see yourself placed within the awful machine of the world, with its iron-teethed wheels, revolving with terrible rapidity, its heavy hammers falling stunningly to the ground—in this awful machinery man sees himself placed helpless and alone, not a moment safe, but that he may be crushed or torn to pieces within these roaring wheels and falling hammers with which he sees himself continually surrounded. This feeling of being abandoned is indeed terrible."

Prince Herman Pückler-Muskau wrote to Ludmilla Assing: "Do you know Schopenhauer and his philosophy, who could have used for his motto Dante's words written over the gates of hell? This is my man now!" And in another place he writes: "It is really not so absurd that Indian philosophers, and now also the German philosopher Schopenhauer, have come to the conclusion that true happiness exists only in absolute nothingness and extinction—only with the despair that it is impossible to be attained." Another writer complains: "It brings a disconsolate emptiness into life to know nothing else than to be eaten up by worms after you die." † Schopenhauer himself led a very unhappy life.

This pessimism is moving like a dark cloud over the firmament of German thought. "At first it was but a speck in the far-off horizon, scarcely visible in the brilliant day of the absolute philosophy. It has been gradually rising and increasing. It is overshadowing the popular mind. It threatens to descend

* Some of the foregoing extracts are taken from the excellent little work: "Die moderne Weltanschauung und ihre Consequenzen," by Heinrich Guth.

and envelop a part of the national thought in its dark embrace." *

The consequences of such a view of life and its surroundings cannot be otherwise than deplorable. It seems to us the German mind is too deep to be satisfied with a superficial or shallow materialism; it will either turn back to a better philosophy and true religion, or it will follow it out to its last consequences and land in pessimism and despair. That such doctrines as those of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann have found such acceptance with a large part of the German people, is, to say the least, a deplorable sign of our times in Germany. We will, therefore, notice another line of facts that are of a more delightful character, but nevertheless as true as the foregoing, and which must also weigh heavy in considering Germany's future.

What is the relation, to-day, of German Protestantism and theology, of German science and philosophy to infidelity, socialism, materialism, and pessimism? While the forces of infidelity are standing in battle array, what are the opposing forces doing? This question has so many sides, embraces so much, is so extensive and far-reaching, that it is impossible for us to give a complete answer without transgressing by far the bounds that we have allotted to this paper. Our answer, therefore, cannot but be incomplete.

As concerns German philosophy and science, it is not all, as some would make us believe, given over to materialism. It is more theistic to-day than several years ago, and with the prospect of becoming still more so; and from time to time heavy blows are struck at materialism, and not only by theologians, but by Germany's best philosophers, men of deep thought and vast learning, and of whom it cannot be said that they are biased by the Church. Materialism is not taught to-day in any of the philosophical chairs of the twenty German universities,† and this is saying a great deal. For universities exert an influence in Germany greater than in any other country. In the universities, more than anywhere else, the best thought of the nation is molded, and "it may also be said that,

* See "Princeton Review," 1878, March number, p. 494.

† In Germany the name university is given only to such institutions as have at least four faculties: a faculty jurisprudence, medicine, theology, and philosophy. Government officials of all ranks must complete their studies there.

with comparatively few exceptions, almost all the scientific works that are written owe their authorship to professors in these institutions." In general materialism has not so much influence in Germany upon the most highly educated classes as upon those classes of the half or would-be educated, of which class Germany, as every other civilized country, has many thousands. These are generally the persons that talk as if they knew every thing, had solved every riddle, had walked up and down through this wide universe of ours, and have found no God.

Even Darwinism, although not necessarily atheistic, for many theists believe in it, seems to loose its hold more and more on German scientists. It seems to have been the sign of a new departure when Professor Rudolf Virchow promulgated the view in his address, "The Freedom of Science in the State," (Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im Modernen Staate,) held before the association of German naturalists and physicians at München, September 22, 1877, that Darwinism should not be taught in the schools, because as yet it is but an unproved hypothesis. The only eminent naturalist of Germany that is an outspoken materialist and Darwinist is Professor Häckel, of Jena. But it seems he has more influence upon the English scientists than upon the German, wherefore he thinks the English are intellectually a brighter people than the German; but he attributes this not so much to the fact that they have better minds naturally than the Germans, but to the fact that they eat more beefsteaks than the Germans. Whosoever, according to Häckel, eats great quantities of beefsteaks will become wise, and will then be able to see the truths and beauties of Darwinism. Well, this is no new doctrine, for we have heard long before this, "Was der mensch isst, das is ter," (What a man eats, that he is.)

That Darwinism has lost much of its influence upon German scientists the bearing of the last assembly of the Association of German naturalists and physicians, held at Baden-Baden but a few months ago, has plainly shown. A professor from Leipsic attacked the works of Darwin, and no one arose to defend the English *savant*. And of still more importance is the following incident: "Professor Jäger, dissenting from his materialistic colleagues, who deny the existence of the soul altogether,

claims to have discovered the same to be something material, and not only to have *seen*, but also to have *smelled* it, tried to make his new discovery plausible before the assembled naturalists. But he was not allowed to finish the nonsense that he was displaying. He was just doing his best in trying to identify the different states of mind and the various emotions of the soul with certain evaporations and odors, when energetic calls from all parts of the room compelled him to leave the platform." * A few years ago these assemblies of German naturalists and physicians were the places where materialism and Darwinism held their feasts; but things have changed somewhat. German science is coming more and more to its senses, and it is high time, too, for it has led the masses of the people too far away from the living God already. The doctrines of materialism, that there is no God and no hereafter, that man has no soul, is not responsible for his acts, and that conscience is a delusion, have helped more than any thing else to undermine the morals of the nation, and we fear that these evils will still work on even when science has seen its mistakes and has turned back. For a people are easier led astray in this respect than back again. The faith and morals of a nation are more readily broken down than built up.

We would add, that of late such men as Professors Wigand, Ebrard, and others,† have given Darwinism such terrible blows, and have proved its untenableness scientifically so clearly, that it can be considered as overcome by German scientific research. We think, therefore, that it is unnecessary that theologians trouble themselves trying to bring the Bible into harmony with it. There is time enough for this work when Darwinism has been proven to be a fact. So far the most sober science has not gone beyond the first chapter of Genesis.

But also in the German Churches new life is making its appearance. She at least begins to open her eyes and sees the danger that is threatening her existence; and this we cannot

* Dr. Grundemann, in "Deutscher Volksfreund," vol. x, p. 23.

† Wigand: "Der Darwinismus und die Naturforschung Newtons und Cuviers." "Der Darwinismus ein Zeichen der Zeit." Ebrard: "Die Darwin'sche Deszendenztheorie," in the first volume of his "Apologetik." Pfaff: "Das Alter und der Ursprung des Menschengeschlechts." Hertling: "Der Darwinismus als geistige Epidemie."

but regard as a good sign, for, first the danger must be seen before something can or will be done to avert it. Rationalism, which at the beginning of this century had almost supreme control over the German Churches, is almost overcome in theology. It is driven out of almost every theological chair of the German universities, and in the first General Synod of the Prussian State Church, held Oct., 1879, it had comparatively but a few representatives.

It is true, many of the greatest apologists of the Christian faith, men of deep piety and profound scholarship, have in the last few years stepped off from the platform of life. Among others we will mention only Thomasius, Landerer, v. Hofmann, Tholuck, J. Mueller, and Beck. "So one after the other sink into the grave the German teachers of theology. Will the young generation supply them? Just now, if ever, the German Church needs minds of the first class as teachers of theology." Some of these men, as young professors, dared to stand alone against the heavy assaults of Rationalism and infidelity; but they were well armed. They stood in the contest where it was raging most fiercely; they were faithful unto the end.' They are no more, these giants upon the battle-ground of faith; but they have opened for us the hidden treasures of God's word; they have led us into the mysteries of revelation, and they have created an apologetical literature in which every argument against the Christian religion is fully answered. They are no more; their tongues and pens are resting, but their works are still living, and will live for many years to come. When we look upon the graves of these fallen heroes we cannot but ask the question, Who will step into the ranks and fill their places? But we will not be discouraged. "God buries his workmen, but he carries on his work." We cannot quite join in the lamentation that there will soon be a great scarcity of theologians in Germany. Mighty minds are still standing at the head of German theological science. Berlin has its Dorner, Leipsic its Delitzsch and Luthardt, Bonn its Lange and Christlieb, Griefswald its Zöckler, and Erlangen its Ebrard—men that have grown up in the midst of strife and conflict, and that are in every respect well prepared and qualified to meet infidelity upon any field of thought or argument. The last-named of these men, Dr. Ebrard, one of the

greatest of living scholars, is not only a theologian of marked ability, but can also be quoted as an authority in many branches of natural science.

The original minds in theological science may be somewhat rarer now than they were fifty years ago; but, on the other hand, we find that the more retired science of former times has stepped out of its seclusion into the midst of the people; and the theologians of to-day surpass by far the former in practical tact, readiness of word, and in the ability of comprehending the real needs of the Church and the people. It is true, that not so many young men are studying theology in Germany to-day as in former years, and that a scarcity of pastors may be felt in the near future, the sense of which can be found more or less in the present unsettled condition of the relation of the Church to the State. But it is our conviction, that those who are studying theology at present have more of the spirit of Christ within them than the theological students of forty or fifty years ago, and in this respect we prefer the quality to the quantity. Ten truly evangelical pastors will surely do more good than one hundred that are rationalistic.

Dr. Hurst, who visited Germany not long ago, said, in an address which he delivered in New York city, that he was astonished at the thorough change that he noticed everywhere in Germany since his last visit to that country a few years ago. He said that he had visited eight universities, and had found that the negation which finds only fault with the doctrines of the Church, without giving something new or better, has entirely fallen into disfavor. In Heidelberg, the only university in which rationalistic professors are teaching theology, four and a half theological students are counted to one professor, while those universities in which evangelical professors are teaching are crowded. Several publishers told him that they could not sell a rationalistic book. Dr. Hurst thinks when the present theological students will occupy the pulpits it will bring new life into the German churches.

One of the most interesting questions for the German Church is that concerning its relation to the State. The German Church, as is well known, is a State Church. The King or ruler of the land is at the same time head of the Church, so to say, its supreme Bishop. Now for some time the bonds that

bind the Church to the State are beginning to loosen more and more, and it seems to be only a question of time to liberate the Church entirely from the State.

As of great importance for the Prussian State Church, and in fact for the Protestant Church of all Germany, can be regarded the meeting of the first regular General Synod of that Church, which took place October 9, 1879. For a number of years such synods have been held in most of the smaller States of Germany, but in Prussia this movement found considerable opposition. A preparatory General Synod was held at Berlin in 1873, and there the way was prepared for a periodical General Synod, of which the one held October 9, 1879, was the first. "It was composed of one hundred and ninety-four members, of whom one hundred and forty-nine had been elected by the Provincial Synods, thirty had been appointed by the King, nine were superintendents-general, and six representatives of the theological faculties of the universities. . . . In 1873 the majority of the Extraordinary Synod belonged to the so-called *Vermittlungspartei*, or party of mediation, which prevailed at the Prussian universities, and, as its name indicates, tried to find a middle ground between the orthodoxy of the Churches of the sixteenth century and the rationalistic schools of the present age. At present this party is in a minority, and the two parties representing the theology of the sixteenth century are in a decisive majority. These two parties are: 1. That of the *Konfessionellen*, or the strict Lutherans; 2. That of the 'Friends of the Positive Union.'" * When we remember that the Prussian State Church numbers over twelve millions of Church members, being the second largest Protestant State Church in the world, we can see the importance that is attached to the holding of this first General Synod. And although this synod has not the power to make laws, still it is a great step forward in the organization and consolidation of the Church, and in its liberation from the State. Some of the measures that were taken there are very important, especially those concerning Church discipline. They will tend to cleanse the Church from infidel elements, and to strengthen it in its warfare against infidelity.

The cause of the sanctity of the Sabbath—which was also

* Compare this "Quarterly," January number, 1880, p. 175

deliberated upon in the General Synod—is also attracting the attention of the leading men in the German Churches more and more. Organizations to help on this cause are formed, and it seems to have met with considerable success so far. Dr. Cremer made the remark, at the assembly of the Evangelical Alliance: "Delightful is the fact that the Sabbath is being regained." So is also the cause of temperance attracting the attention of the government, (and of the Churches,) and in the way of restrictive laws steps are being taken to arrest the fearful spread of drunkenness. These are encouraging signs, and, together with other movements, as the cause of home missions —which is in a prosperous condition in many places—plainly prove that the Protestant Churches of Germany are not altogether given over into rationalism and infidelity, as some seem to think, but that there is still considerable life and power manifested, with many signs of improvement as concerns the Church.

Whereunto point the "signs of the times" as concerns Germany's future? This question is hard to be answered. One thing is certain, rest and peace, concerning the social and religious questions that are agitating the German people, are not to be expected in the near future, for the oppositions are too marked and bitter to allow any prospect of a near adjustment of these questions. Not peace and rest, therefore, but war and work, is written over the portals of Germany's future. Dr. Cremer, whom we have already quoted, made the remark: "It is no bright and peaceful future that is awaiting us; we can expect nothing but still more conflict, and, it may be, persecution and suffering." Will German Christianity be faithful in the conflict and trial? May God help her!

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, October, 1880. (Philadelphia.)—1. Free Thought in England; by Arthur F. Marshall. 2. Our Great Goddess and her Coming Idol; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 3. How to Find the Truth; by Dr. Daniel Gans. 4. Notes on Spain; by St. Geo. Mivart, F.R.S., etc. 5. American Influence on the Democratic Movement in Europe; by John M'Carty. 6. Catholicity in Kentucky—The Elder Family; by Benedict J. Webb. 7. Bishop Stevens on Auricular Confession and Private Absolution; by Very Rev. J. A. Corcoran, D.D. 8. English Fiction; by John Gray. 9. Influence of the Sun on Terrestrial Magnetism; by Rev. J. M. Degni, S.J. 10. Beza as a Translator and Perverter of God's Word; by J. A. C. 11. Dante.

Baptist Review, October, November, December, 1880. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Religious "Light of Asia." "Sangha;" or, The Buddhist Priesthood; by Rev. F. H. Eveleth. 2. Destruction of American Forests and the Consequences; by David D. Thomson. 3. Exegesis of 1 John iii, 9; by Rev. H. M. Hopkinson. 4. The Rational Grounds of Theism; by Rev. George B. Stevens. 5. The Will in Theology; by Augustus H. Strong, D.D. 6. The Denominational Work of President Manning; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 7. The Dispensation of the Fullness of Times. Exegesis of Ephesians i, 9, 10; by Rev. G. W. Folwell. 8. Shall we have a Sabbath, and How? by G. W. Gardner, D.D. 9. The Kenosis, or Humiliation of Christ; by Henry C. Vedder.

Bibliotheca Sacra, October, 1880. (Andover.)—1. History and the Concept of God; by Rev. George T. Ladd. 2. The New Testament Vocabulary: Native Words not Found in Classical Authors; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin. 3. The Sabbath: The Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day: Testimony of the Fathers; by Rev. William De Loss Love, D.D. 4. Christian Doctrine of God; by President E. V. Gerhart. 5. History of Research Concerning the Structure of the Old Testament Historical Books; by Prof. Archibald Duff, M.A. 6. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages; by Rev. J. F. M'Curdy, Ph.D.

Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly, October, 1880. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. Anastasis; by Rev. W. H. Black. 2. Causes of Atheism; by Rev. Erskine Brantley. 3. The American Lawyer; by Hon. R. C. Ewing. 4. Sanctification vs. Soul Purity; by J. W. Poindexter, D.D. 5. Language and Evolution; by Prof. W. D. M'Loughlin. 6. The First Sabbath; by Rev. J. L. Goodknight.

Lutheran Quarterly, October, 1880. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Martin Luther's Table Talk; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 2. God's Sovereignty; by Rev. L. A. Fox, A.M. 3. Catechisation; by Rev. Prof. E. F. Bartholomew, A.M. 4. The Lutheran Jubilee; by Rev. J. D. Severinghaus, A.M. 5. Life With a Purpose; by M. Valentine, D.D. 6. Little Memorial Address; by Prof. S. C. Wells, Ph.D. 7. Credibility of the Scriptures.

New Englander, November, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. The Light of Asia; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Andersonville; by Prof. Rufus B. Richardson, Ph.D. 3. Western Colleges; Their Claims and Necessities; by Rev. M. M. G. Dana. 4. The Last Representation of the Ober-Ammergau Play—in the Summer of 1880; by a Lady. 5. Horace Bushnell; by Rev. H. M. Goodwin.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, October, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Gen. Henry Knox; by Francis S. Drake, Esq. 2. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury; by William B. Trask, Esq. 3. Memoir of Col. Seth Warner; by Hon. Walter Harriman. 4. Taxes under Gov. Andros; by Walter Lloyd Jeffries, A.B. 5. Capt. Cogan's Expedition to Pigwacket; by Horace Mann, Esq. 6. Letters of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.;

by N. J. Herrick, Esq. 7. Fisher's Account of the First Settlers of Bluehill, Me.; by Hon. Joseph Williamson. 8. The Bell Family Record; by J. Gardner White, A.M. 9. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 10. Number of Births in Newbury, Mass., 1639 to 1715. 11. The Slocum Genealogy; by Charles E. Slocum, M.D., Ph.D. 12. Dedham and Stoughton; by Jeremiah Colburn, A.M. 13. Diaries of Samuel Thompson, Esq., of Woburn, Mass.; by William R. Cutter, Esq. 14. The Youngman Family; by David Youngman, M.D. 15. Census of Bristol, 1689; by George T. Paine, Esq. 16. Records of Dartmouth, Mass; by the late James B. Congdon.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1880. (Boston.) 1. Universalist Conventions and Creeds; by Rev. Richard Eddy. 2. Evolution and Materialism; by Rev. O. A. Rounds. 3. Historic Theism; by Rev. T. S. Lathrop. 4. Forgiveness of Sin: its Philosophy, Incidents, and Application; by Rev. R. O. Williams. 5. Universalism and the Heart; by Rev. A. J. Patterson, D.D. 6. The Relation of Myths to Science and Religion; by Prof. B. F. Tweed. 7. New Problems in our Church Work; by Rev. J. Coleman Adams. 8. "On the True Site of Nineveh;" by Rev. O. D. Miller. 9. The Commandments of God; by Rev. B. F. Bowles.

We are indebted to the "Universalist Quarterly" for the following summary of recently-developed facts in regard to the genuineness of the Book of Daniel:

The first attack upon the authorship and historical integrity of Daniel was made in the beginning of the fourth century by the celebrated Porphyry, a pagan philosopher, who wrote fifteen books against the Christians, the twelfth of which he devoted entirely to the Book of Daniel. He maintained that the author was a Jew of Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; that it was originally written in Greek, and that the object was to give the form of previous prophecy to the events of his own time. Several replies by different writers were sent out, among others one by Eusebius of Cæsarea.

The arguments of Porphyry have been repeated in modern times by Spinoza and the English Deists, the foremost of whom, perhaps, was Collins, and by some of the German schools of criticism. Of late these attacks have been renewed, and, beginning with the rejection of the first six chapters as the work of Daniel, they have ended with pronouncing the entire book the work of an impostor who must have written in the time of Antiochus. Hitzig and Lücke fix the date in the period between B. C. 170–164, which opinion is generally indorsed by German critics. Hengstenberg, Havernack, Delitzsch, Keil, Stuart, and others maintain the authenticity of the book. And this position is growing into strength, and finding acceptance among those who have hesitated, but who, having no prejudices nor theories to maintain, have fairly weighed the new evidence brought in by recent discoveries among the tablets and monuments from the sites of Babylon and Nineveh.

It would not be an easy thing for a Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to write history involving Babylonian customs, traditions, dates, punishments, and superstitions in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or Darius, without falling into errors which would betray his ignorance. But in Daniel allusions to these

matters, which skeptical critics have called in question, have been proved to be in accord with time and facts as revealed by monumental inscriptions recently brought to light. Take, for example, the punishments inflicted on Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego by casting them alive into a fiery furnace, and Daniel and his accusers into a den of lions. George Smith's recovery of the cylinders of Assurbanipal, the grandson of Sennacherib, has let in a clear light upon these horrible practices of the Assyrian kings, so that we have now contemporary evidence in proof of the accuracy of Daniel's record, showing that both these punishments were in use at Babylon a few years before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Saulmugina, brother of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, was made by his relative king of Babylon, where he reigned prosperously for several years. Afterward, for some unknown reason, he ungratefully rebelled against his eldest brother, but after a severe contest was defeated and taken prisoner. The Assyrian monarchs appear to have been always animated with an implacable spirit of revenge. Hence we are not surprised at finding among the inscriptions containing the annals of Assurbanipal the following: "Saulmugina, my rebellious brother, who made war with me, in the fierce, burning fire they (that is, his generals, by his command) threw him, and destroyed his life. And the people who to Saulmugina, my rebellious brother, he had caused to join, and these evil things did, who death deserved. . . . One sinner did not escape from my hands, my hand held them. . . . Their tongues I pulled out, their overthrow I accomplished. The rest of the people alive among the stone (?) lions and bulls, which Sennacherib my grandfather in the midst had thrown; again I into that pit those men into the midst I threw."*

This passage illustrates the correctness of Daniel's mention of customs and punishments in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and shows the strong probability of its dating in his reign, (B.C. 604–560,) which began but a short time after that of Assurbanipal ended. We may add in passing that the reign of this Assurbanipal has received a new and interesting illustration from the recent discoveries in Cyprus by Cesnola, whose rich collections of antiquities adorn the New York Art Museum: "An inscription on the gold armlets found at Kurion, in Cyprus, reveals the name of Ithyander, king of the island, who rendered homage to Assurbanipal B.C. 620, during his march against Egypt, and only a few years before the termination of the war in which the pious Josiah, king of Judah, lost his life, as the Book of Kings relates it: 'In his days Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates, and King Josiah went against him, and he slew him at Megiddo when he had seen him.' We have also some Babylonian cylinders inscribed with cuneiform characters in the Accadian tongue, though the proper names are all Semitic; some of these are supposed to be of the time of

* "Assyrian Discoveries," by George Smith, pp. 342, 343.

Esarhaddon's reign, the eighth century B.C., while others belong to the reign of Naram Sin, king of Babylon, son and successor of Sargon I., who flourished before the sixteenth century B.C." *

But we must return more directly to the Book of Daniel, and the confirmation it derives from some of these discoveries, and the closer study it has received in connection with Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities. It is found after all that Belshazzar is a historical personage and not a myth, or the creation of an apocryphal writer. Nabonidus is called by Berosus the *last* king of Babylon, in whose reign Cyrus captured the city, thus leaving no place for Belshazzar, say the skeptical critics. But the cylinders which Rawlinson dug out of the ruins of Um-Qeer (the Chaldæan Ur) show that the eldest son of Nabonidus bore the name of Bel-shaz-ezar, and was associated with his father as co-regent in the government; much as the heirs or designated successors of the Roman emperors were sometimes taken by them into the administration of the political and military affairs of the empire. Belshazzar, it seems, had been appointed royal governor of Babylon by Nabonidus, who, while marching to the assistance of his son, was attacked and defeated by Cyrus, and shut up in Borsippus, until after the capture of the city. Thus what, until lately, seemed to tell strongly against the historical accuracy of Daniel, turns out to be a remarkable proof of his exactness of statement—only it has happened that this proof has been buried out of reach for some 2,500 years.

If the author of the Book of Daniel had not been contemporary with the events he could not have described them so accurately. If the book had been written in the Maccabean age by a forger, he would not have mentioned Belshazzar, for the inscriptions proving his existence had then been hidden in the ruins for ages, and have continued hidden there down to our own times.

Other coincidences of time and customs indicate the early date and historical integrity of the book. Daniel makes no mention, for example, of prostration before the king when entering his presence, or speaking to him. According to Arrian, Cyrus, the Persian conqueror, was the first king honored in this way. Now in the Maccabean age this custom of prostration before kings was an established custom. Is it likely that a writer of that age would have had such an exact knowledge of the matter, and made no allusion to what was so common in his own day! There is another very remarkable omission, if the book was written in the time of the Maccabees, which Dr. Harman points out in his "Introduction to the Scriptures," namely, "its freedom from

* The "London Record," from which we quote the above, says of one of these inscriptions: "It is interesting to remember that 1,000 years before this was enforced, we are brought back to the time of Moses, the inhabitants of the Isle of ... are represented on the famous historical tomb at Thebes as paying homage and tribute to Thothmes III., the builder of our recent arrival on the Thames embankment, which, two centuries ago, was known at Alexandria as 'Pharaoh's Obelisk,' but which latterly has borne the misleading title of 'Cleopatra's Needle.'"

prayers in the midst of narratives:" "Tobit, 1 Maccabees, Judith, and indeed all the apocryphal books, abound with prayers and ejaculations. The Book of Esther contains no prayers in the Hebrew, but there is no want of them in the Greek version, (265–135, the latter portion being in the time of the Maccabees.) In Daniel not a word of prayer is mentioned as having been uttered by the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace. In the Greek version, however, prayers are put into their mouths. No prayers are ascribed to Daniel in the lion's den.* Had Daniel been written in the age of the apocryphal writers, it would in all probability have abounded in prayers and pious ejaculations. It is difficult to explain how the book could have arisen in the age of such writers, at the time the Greek version was made, and yet be wanting in the very additions characteristic of the times. In several places, in chapter ix, Daniel uses the name *Jehovah;* but there can be no doubt that already, before the age of the Maccabees, the Jews had ceased to use that name, through a superstitious reverence." †

Within a few years past the attention of European scholars has been specially attracted to the Book of Daniel by the recent Assyrian and Chaldean discoveries, and the consequent more careful study of the customs, superstitions, and general history of these peoples. The result is that there has been a slowly-growing change of opinion among radical biblical critics regarding the date and authorship of the work. In some cases the change has been very marked. The "Independent" stated some time ago that "One of the most erudite and competent French students of those inscriptions has lately published his own conclusions on the subject. He does not discuss Daniel's visions included in the last part of the book, which he believes can be equally justified, but, after examining with the greatest care the first six chapters, which are full of local allusions, he declares that they could have been written only while the memory of the time with which they have to do was yet very fresh. He says that for a long time the views of these literary critics seemed to him unrefuted. He accepted them, and published them; but has lately been compelled, for reasons simply and exclusively scientific, to revise his opinion, and recur to the old Talmudic view, which referred the composition of Daniel to the time of Ezra and the Great Synagogue. Comparing Daniel with the Book of Judith, which is of the date which critics have tried to assign to Daniel, the contrast is remarkable. Every historical or social allusion in Daniel is borne out by the facts discovered. In Judith, however, we have a king of Assyria who never existed defeated on the territory of an unknown king of the Elamites when Elam had ceased to exist as a nation, in a plain which is at the

* The prayer in chapter ix is an exception to this statement.

† Harman's Introduction, "Daniel," p. 388. The entire chapter on this book is worth a careful reading.

same time near the Euphrates and the Indian Hydaspes. The Median king then sends on an expedition his general, Holophernes, with a Persian name, who crosses and conquers Syria, in a journey of fantastic geography, and comes to Palestine, which is under a king whose name is not given, whom he besieges in the mythical city of Bethulia. What a difference between this accumulation of impossibilities and the absolutely true picturing of Babylon given in Daniel.† Of course, archæology cannot be asked to confirm the supernatural of miracles or prophecies. All we ask of it is whether the books which contain the supernatural could have been written at the time they claim to have been written. The monuments buried for thousands of years in the soil of Egypt and Mesopotamia answer Yes, to the confusion of the critics who said No. The monuments cannot affirm every thing. They cannot fairly be asked for every detail of personal life. They cannot record the revelations of God to his prophets. They do not tell us how accurately the Sacred Books have been brought down to us, nor when or how they have been re-written or revised by Ezra or a later Synagogue. But they do tell us that the accordance, not of Genesis and Exodus and Daniel alone, but of the Kings, and Chronicles, and the prophets, and Ezra, and Esther, with the data given by the monuments, is such that it is impossible that they should not have been written at or near the time which has been claimed for them from the beginning."

Since the preceding was written, an article from the pen of Rev. Dr. Sayce, of Queen's College, Oxford, Eng., has appeared in "The Oriental Journal," which, if it correctly interprets the cuneiform text, puts a new face on the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and compels a re-writing of this chapter of ancient history. It seems that two important discoveries have recently been made in Babylonia, one a clay cylinder which contains a proclamation of Cyrus describing his conquest of Babylonia, and the other a large clay tablet giving year by year the history of the reign of Nabonidus, father of Belshazzar, of the conquest of the Medes and Babylonians by Cyrus, and of the first year of his rule over Babylon. We give as much of the article as our limits will permit. According to the annals of the historical tablets, "The Persians first appear upon the scene in the sixth year of Nabonidus, when we find Cyrus engaged in fighting against Istungu, the classical Astyages, king of Ekbata, whose army revolted against him, and sent him in chains to Cyrus, B.C. 549. Meanwhile Nabonidus, instead of coming to the help of the Medians, remained inactive in the town of Tera, which was probably a suburb of Babylon, contenting himself with stationing his army,

† So in the first book of Maccabees there are similar gross historical errors. In chap. i a false statement is made respecting the death of Alexander the Great, and the division of his kingdom. In chap. viii the author says that the Romans captured Antiochus alive; but the fact is they never captured him at all. Again, in the same chapter, he says that the Romans deprived him of India, which he never possessed.

under the command of his eldest son, in Accad, or Northern Babylonia, so as to check the advance of Cyrus in that direction. Three years after Cyrus completed his conquest of the Medes by crossing the Tigris near Arbela, in order to proceed against the last cities in that part of the former empire of Media which still held out against him. He then attempted to enter Babylonia from the north, but the Babylonian army was apparently too strong for him, and it was not till the seventeenth year of Nabonidus (B.C. 538) that the conquest of Babylonia was effected. Cyrus had first tampered with the subjects of the Chaldean king, and when every thing was ready marched against Nabonidus from the south-east, where the Babylonians who lived on the coasts of the Persian Gulf had already revolted in favor of the invader.

"Nabonidus now endeavored to propitiate the neglected gods, but to no purpose. A battle was fought in the month Tammuz, or June, at Rubum, in the south of Babylonia, resulting in the defeat of Nabonidus, and the revolt of the people of Accad from him. Sippara was taken by the Persians, without fighting, on the 14th of Tammuz. Nabonidus fled, but was captured by the Persian general, Gobryas, on the 16th of Tammuz, *and Babylon was entered without any resistance and without a siege*, by Gobryas, almost immediately afterward. The only resistance experienced was at the end of the month, when some 'rebels of the land of Gutnim,' or Kurdiston, shut themselves up in the Temple of Belus, at Babylon; but as they had no weapons they could do nothing. It was not until the 3d of Marchesvan, or October, that Cyrus entered Babylon, apparently during the night, 'the roads being dark before him,' and appointed Gobryas and other officers to govern the city. On the 11th of the same month Nabonidus died, which disposes of the story of his appointment to the government of Caramania.

"Cyrus now commenced his policy of conciliation. The Babylonian gods were restored to their shrines with every mark of reverence, and on the 4th of Nisan, the first month of the new year, (B.C. 537,) Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, took part in the religious ceremonies performed in honor of the various deities. As this is the last event recorded, the tablet must have been drawn up soon afterward, and deposited in the public library, where it could be read by all.

"It is not necessary to refer to the important bearing these two documents have upon biblical and profane history, and more especially upon the Book of Daniel. One more argument has been added to the case against Xenophon's 'Cyropædia,' which competent judges have long pronounced to be a romance; and the siege of Babylon, described by Herodotus, turns out never to have taken place. It is possible, however, that Herodotus has confounded Babylon with Sippara, where the relics of the army of Nabonidus took refuge."—Pp. 498–504.

The following candid notice of Dr. De Hass' Bible Lands, and rebuke of the slashing notice of the "Independent," does credit to the "Universalist Quarterly:"—

This ample title-page sufficiently notifies the reader of the aim and character of this beautiful volume; and the Preface states that the author has compiled the facts brought out by recent explorations in this concise form for the benefit of the general reader, to whom they would not otherwise be accessible. He states that he does not claim to have made these discoveries, but that, having visited and carefully examined the excavations made by Mariette Bey, in Egypt, Dr. Schliemann, at Troy, Dr. Wood, in Asia Minor, and General Cesnola, in Cyprus, and having been with Warren, Wilson, Drake, Ganneau, Conder, and others, in and around Jerusalem—also having traveled with Dr. Strong's party through Moab, and followed Dr. Porter through the Hauran—he writes from observations personally made, though relying in some instances for the correctness of his statements on the surveys and investigations of the eminent archæologists named.

After such a frank acknowledgment of his indebtedness, and of the probable source of some of the errors and over-statements of the book, we think the criticisms of the "Independent" unnecessarily severe and personal. The author does not profess to be fresh or original—his work is a "compilation;" and he makes no pretense of having verified all the statements which he copies, or of having seen even all the places which he describes. He has certainly overlooked some of the most recent results in Egyptian and Assyrian discoveries, and the consequent corrections of former interpretations and too hasty conclusions; and he may have too much confidence in the superlatives and hyperboles of some of his authorities, whose errors have been long ago exposed; and this is confessedly a drawback on a book just from the press. But after all the work is a valuable one, replete with useful and exceedingly interesting information concerning Bible Lands, and one every way calculated to illustrate the language of the sacred records, and strengthen faith in their authenticity and accuracy. It ought to find a place in our family and Sunday-school libraries. There are over one hundred and fifty illustrations, all helping to interpret the text.—P. 510.

The Contemporary Review, July, 1880. (New York.) 1. A Few Weeks upon the Continent; by the Duke of Argyll. 2. The Indian Dilemma; by Major H. Levy, C. S. I. 3. On the Sources of German Discontent; by Dr. Karl Hillebrand. 4. The Postulates of English Political Economy; by Walter Bagehot. 5. The Public Letters of John Ruskin, D.C.L.; by An Oxford Pupil. 6. How the Income Tax can be Abolished; by Lonsdale Bradley. 7. The Eleusinian Mysteries; by Francois Lenormant. 8. Postal Notes, Money Orders, and Bank Checks; by Prof. W. Stanley Jevons. 9. From Faust to Mr. Pickwick; by Matthew Browne.

The July number of the "Contemporary Review" contains an article by the Duke of Argyll, entitled: "A Few Weeks upon

the Continent." It narrates a tour into the South of Europe, made with a view, not to science or art, but to nature. The entire article suggests sad thoughts of the narrowness of our American "statesmen" in comparison with the broadly cultured Argyll and Gladstone.

At Verona, Italy, Argyll discerns that the pavement stones are made up of the ancient Ammonite, represented by the modern Nautilus. The ancient forms were splendid and massive, and were fossilized in the Oolite and Lias. This suggests a refutation of the Darwinian claim that geology would show a complete series of evolutionary forms, were not the succession immensely broken and shattered. But we have here an instance where

THE GEOLOGICAL RECORD IS UNBROKEN.

A complete and perfect series of certain of these forms may very easily be preserved in the deposits of any given age. The imperishable nature of shells generally, and especially of shells so solid as the Ammonites, together with the fact that all that lived in any given area of sea must have been preserved in its deposits, as we actually find them to have been—are circumstances which give us every reason to believe that we have a very complete record of the succession of these forms, and this, too, for periods of time so long that during them many new species did actually appear. In the deposits of the Lias, for example, we have in the South of England, and elsewhere, an immense series of deposits which appear to have been continuous and undisturbed during the time of their deposition, and are continuous and undisturbed still. They are crowded with millions of Ammonites of all forms and patterns, of all ages and sizes, and yet the method or the process by which new species have been introduced is as mysterious in respect to them as in respect to other forms of life in which no such perfect series anywhere exists. No less than two hundred species are known in this one geological formation, of which one hundred and six are confined to a particular division of it. All these appeared quite suddenly, and in the next division of the same deposit their places were taken by forms which are wholly new. Whence did these come, and how did they arise? No man can tell. The facts do not suggest gradual passages and insensible gradations. One particular species, for example, appears suddenly in one particular bed or stratum only a few inches thick—appears in this bed alone, and is absolutely wanting in every other, whether above or below it. True it is that the differences of pattern which distinguish these species from each other are often small. But whether they be large or small they are always constant. They appear suddenly, and as suddenly their place is supplied by some new variety which during another period remains as fixed

and constant as all the rest. It seems to me to be quite certain, from this history of the Genesis of Ammonites, that the origin of their specific distinctions has not been an origin due to minute and accidental variations, but an origin due to sudden changes effected under a law of birth or of evolution of which we know nothing, and to which nothing analogous has been ever seen since Man appeared, or at least since Man observed. The doctrine that Nature does nothing "per saltum" is a doctrine which, in so far as it is true at all, has been wonderfully misunderstood. The continuity of Nature is a continuity of causation, not a mere continuity of effects. New things may appear very suddenly in perfect consistency with being the result of long and gradual preparation. Leaps the most tremendous—transitions the most violent—may be the outcome of a perfect continuity. If all creatures have been born from pre-existing forms, the geological evidence is that they have been born suddenly—with deviations from the parent stock, which have been reached at once—and which have remained fixed and definite until a new variation has arisen.—Page 4.

Evolutionists have made great use of the fact of the preservation of species by natural concealment. The following passage describes a remarkable case of

Special Provisions for Safety by Concealment.

As regards the Lophius, or fishing-frog, although in one aspect it is among the most hideous and horrible objects in Nature, in another aspect it is one of the most "beautiful;" for nowhere is there a more conspicuous example of that kind of beauty which consists in a wonderful combination of curious and various adaptations. When seen cast up upon the shore, as it often is, its appearance is simply that of a great flattened bag, with a mouth stretching from one side to the other, and with those wide jaws armed with double rows of hideously sharp-pointed teeth. But when freshly taken from the water, and carefully examined, it is one of the marvels of creation. It is adapted for concealment at the bottom of the sea—for lying perfectly flat on the sand or among the weeds—with its cavernous jaws ready for a snap. For more perfect concealment, every bit of the creature is imitative both in form and coloring. The whole upper surface is mottled and tinted in such close resemblance to stones and gravels and seaweeds, that it becomes quite undistinguishable among them. In order to complete the method of concealment, the whole margins of the fish, and the very edges of the lips and jaws, have loose flaps and fringes which wave and sway about amid the currents of water so as to look exactly like the smaller algæ which move around them and along with them. Even the very ventral fins of this Devouring Deception, which are thick, strong, and fleshy, almost like hands, and which evidently help in a sudden leap, are made like great clam shells, while the iris of the eyes is so colored in lines radiating from the pupil, as to look precisely like some

species of *Patella* or Limpet. But this is not all; not only is concealment perfectly in order to enable the Lophius to catch the unwary, but there is a bait provided to attract the hungry and the inexperienced. From the top of the head proceeds a pair, or two pair, of slender elastic rods, like the slender tops of a fishing-rod, ending in a little membrane or web, which glistens in the water and is attractive to other fish. When they come to bite, or even to look, they are suddenly engulfed, for portals open with a rush and close again—portals over which the inscription may well be written: "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate."

It is impossible to look at a machinery so special, so elaborate, and so ingenious as this, and to be satisfied with the stereotyped mechanical explanation of the Evolutionists. I do not mean to doubt that such creatures have been "developed," any more than to deny that they have been generated and have been born; all I mean is that the development, whatever may have been the stages through which it may have passed, has been guided by a "Law" which is cognizable and intelligible only as a Law of Mind. The end has been seen from the beginning, and organs have been shaped toward that end long before they could be of actual use in gaining it. Not by the mere killing off of accidental variations, but by the shaping of them to a foreseen conclusion, can particular variations such as these have been attained. Just as there are unmistakable marks which separate the conceptions of the imagination from narratives of fact, so are there marks, equally unmistakable, which separate the work of Mind from any of the results of blind physical causation: and although all nature is full of this distinction, there are occasional examples of it which, from their novelty, their complication, and their conspicuousness, bring it home to our recognition more vividly than others. Such an example is the Lophius.—Page 8.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Unity of Nature; by the Duke of Argyll. 2. How to Nationalize the Land; by Alfred R. Wallace. 3. The Relation of Christian Belief to National Life; by Rev. J. Baldwin Brown. 4. Party Politics in the United States; by an American Statesman. 5. The Procedure of Deliberative Bodies; by Alexander Bain, LL.D. 6. Home Rule in Ireland; by Alfred Frisby. 7. The Prospects of Land-Owners; by Prof. W. Steadman Aldis. 8. The Future of the Canadian Dominion; by William Clarke. 9. Old and New Japan; by Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B.

The November Contemporary Review has an article by J. Baldwin Brown, on "The Relation of Christian Belief to National Life." We give the following extract on the professedly pious

ATHEISM OF THE DAY.

There is an Atheism abroad which has in it a tincture of almost pious devotion to the ideas and aims which Christianity has taught us as a nation to cherish and pursue. We need not trouble ourselves much to confute it; it will confute itself, and

soon. It is the fancy for the time of our over-cultured men and women—that is, men and women who are mastered by their culture instead of mastering it—that the world can be very blessedly Christian without Christianity. We may leave them calmly to spread their plaster over the sacred name which hallows every stone of the temple of Christian society, and to inscribe on the bare surface any name they please, or none. The plaster will soon be dropping from their Pharos, and the name of the founder will shine out fresher and brighter than at first. But we do not affect to underrate the gravity of the danger which threatens us. We cannot hope to emerge, except through long strain and bitter sorrow, from the unbelief and indifference which have been largely bequeathed to us by a too selfish, self-satisfied, self-infolded, and dogmatic Church.

Sometimes one has a vision of what might befall if the creed or the no-creed of the Atheist were triumphant, and were accepted as the truth in all cultivated society. Were it established as the orthodox creed of the intellectual rulers; were men trained from childhood to limit their interests, activities, and hopes to the bare and narrow world which alone it regards as real; were all the light which plays over life from the spiritual sphere extinguished, and all the comfort which men gather from the thought of the infinite wisdom and tenderness dead; were they doomed to toil and suffer through their weary days with no inspiration from perennial fountains, and with no hope beyond the darkling tomb; did they believe that the death which each moment dogs their steps would be utterly an end of them, and that the experience of their own sad lives was the only legacy which they would leave to their heirs, then how fiercely men would learn to hate this Atheism: with what bitter ridicule would they unmask its pretensions; with what scathing scorn would they dissect its arguments; and with what prophetic fury would they denounce the ruin which it must work in the nature, the endowment, and the destiny of our race. It would be worth enduring some deep sadness and darkness for a season to see humanity, in spiritual might, rise on a rampant Atheism, tear its flimsy sophisms to tatters, and banish it as a hideous nightmare from the earth.

Some such experience may be awaiting our Atheistic schools. Intellect has grown wanton of late. A dread discipline of anguish may be appointed to it, in that bare desert of Atheistic negations into which it has led itself forth, and is seeking to lead forth the world. We seem to see, with eyes blinded with tears, the dark night of lonely despair in which our proud and contemptuous culture may be ordained to wander; until it hungers again for the Bread which cometh down from heaven, and seeks joyfully the light which, to a spirit's eye, floods over the celestial sphere. But what shall this poor man do, whose only comfort it has embittered, whose only hope it has blighted, and whose living fountain it has poisoned in the spring? The poor

have the Gospel preached unto them still, and many a cup of pure, bright pleasure does it lift to their lips. There was a service at a little conventicle on the Surrey hills, a few Sundays ago, a sample of thousands of peasants' services which are held each Sunday in our land. Poor laborers and humble tradesmen filled the place. Very hard were the lives of many of them; very long and weary their toil; very dull and sad their lot. But there they were for a time in another world. An evangelist preached to them sound, stirring, vital doctrine about righteousness; and they were made to feel that diligence, honesty, thrift, cheerfulness and charity were all within its pale. A peasant prayed with a dignity and a power of thought and expression which would have touched our prophets of culture, and which nothing but the Bible could have taught him, and he prayed for blessings which even an agnostic would recognize as good both for souls and States. They sang hymns which seemed for the time to uplift them, and they saw above their narrow and squalid lot a world in whose joys and glories they, too, had part. And then they went home to their poor hovels, their cabbage, their crust, and their dull monotonous tasks, feeling that life was not all a bare, dry desert; that toil and pain and sickness are not its only experiences; that it has passages of joy that might gladden an angel, and hopes which lift themselves to God and heaven. There are ten thousand of such churches, let us thank God, scattered about England. None but God knows the precious contribution which they offer to the stability and the fruitfulness of our industrial, social, and political life. I confess I am somewhat skeptical as to the extent of the so-called alienation of the "masses" from the Gospel. Their alienation from the Churches is all too manifest, but I think we quite underrate the hold which the truth and comfort of the Gospel have upon their hearts. It is wonderful how in times of great calamity, in colliery accidents and the like, abundant signs, not of a religion put on for the moment, but of a very noble Christian faith and patience, appear.

Let highly cultured men and women strip life, if they will, of all that makes it worth the living, and of the higher fellowships which lend to it dignity and grace; let them contemn, if they will, the hopes and the experiences which are the springs of its purest and most lasting joys; let them destroy for themselves, with the cruel weapons of their sophistry, the beliefs and the aspirations which in all ages have seemed to man to differentiate his life from the brutes; be it ours to guard for ourselves and these poor ones that vision of God, and that faith in the revelations and promises of his word, which has led the progress of Christendom hitherto, which is the stimulus and the strength of the noblest activity in men and in communities, and which, under the cares, burdens, and toils of our present experience, gladdens the heart unspeakably, fills the imagination, and beautifies and exalts the life.—P. 21.

North American Review, December, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Future of the Republican Party; by George S. Boutwell. 2. Discoveries at Olympia; by Prof. Ernst Curtius. 3. Rational Sunday Observance; by Rev. Dr. James Freeman Clarke. 4. Southern Statesmen and their Policy; by John Jay. 5. The Ruins of Central America—Part IV; by Désiré Charnay. 6. The Distribution of Time; by Dr. Leonard Waldo. 7. The Public-School Failure; by Richard Grant White. The Validity of the Emancipation Edict; by Aaron A. Ferris.

Ex-Secretary Boutwell, in the first article, proposes what he considers an effective correction of the violation of the rights of "a free ballot and a fair count" in the Southern States. We give his method in the following paragraphs:

By section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution, it is provided that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them from invasion."

This guarantee to the States of a republican form of government is coupled with the highest pledge that can be made by one body-politic to another—protection against invasion. The two pledges considered together are a guarantee of the existence of the State and of its existence as a republic.

The Supreme Court has given an opinion that the guarantee is to the inhabitants of the respective States, and not to the governments of the States. In considering the varying meanings of the word "State" in our Constitution, the Court says: "There are instances in which the principal sense of the word seems to be that primary one to which we have adverted, of a people or political community, as distinguished from a government. In this latter sense the word seems to be used in the clause which provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion. In this clause a plain distinction is made between a State and the government of a State." (Texas *vs.* White, 7 Wallace, 721.)

When we consider the nature of this obligation, its place in the Constitution, and its necessity as a means of protecting the Union itself from undermining and destroying processes, we can entertain only contempt for the doctrine that when the system in a State is republican there can be no further inquiry by the United States, and that the National Government must ever remain a silent spectator of the total subversion of that system in practice. If this be so, it is then only necessary for a body of usurpers in a State to retain a republican form of government, and then proceed to rob the people of every right appertaining to a republican system. And further, if this be so, then the guarantee is to the authorities of the State, and not to the people. The guarantee of a republican form or system of government is nothing to the people living under the system unless the administration of it is republican also. Indeed, the guarantee of a republican form of government, when that government has been

seized by usurpers, and the people are deprived alike of the rights and of the protection which a republican government is designed to secure, makes the guarantee itself the shield of the oppressor and the menace of the down-trodden.

The guarantee is, then, not of the *form* only, but of the *substance*, the *thing* itself, as well. The republican government guaranteed is a government existing and operating in harmony with the American idea as set forth in our Constitutions, both State and national, or accepted universally and by many successive generations.

Some of the essential features of a republican form of government are these: 1. All just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. 2. The exercise of those powers is by representative men selected by the people, either directly by election or indirectly by appointment. 3. The recognition in the Constitution of the existence of a body of men entitled to the elective franchise. 4. Efficient means for the general and equal enjoyment of the right by all of the class so recognized. 5. Obedience to the will of the majority when, agreeably to the Constitution, that will has been ascertained.

The Congress, including the President, is the United States, for the purpose of making good the guarantee contained in the Constitution; and when in any State the essential qualities of a republican government are wanting, or the people are, generally and systematically, deprived of those rights and privileges which are elemental in our republican system, and when all milder means have failed to remedy the evils, it then becomes a duty to assert the power of the United States under the clause of the Constitution quoted, and, by such means as may be adequate, secure to the people a republican government as a practical, existing fact.

Although many years have passed since the outrages in the South assumed national importance, there is still ground for hope that order may be re-established, and the equal rights of citizens every-where recognized; but it is well in this exigency to assert the existence and unfold the nature of a power adequate to the evil we now confront.

The Republican party bears no hostility to the South as a section. If we are a sectional party—and in one sense we are a sectional party—the circumstance is due to the fact that, in the South, the Republican forces are in a state of duress, and their voice is nowhere heard, nor is their power anywhere felt.

When, however, there shall be freedom of speech, of the press, and of the ballot, the Republican party will exert every constitutional power for the renovation of the waste places in the South. Whatever can be done, under the Constitution, for the improvement of its rivers and its harbors, for the rebuilding of its levees, for the development of its agriculture, for the extension of its manufactures, for the enlargement of its educational facilities, will be done by the Republican party without delay and without

grudging. But all this can be done, and will be done, for those communities and States only where the equality of all men before the law is a living, practical fact.—P. 481.

In the concluding paragraph Mr. Boutwell expresses, undoubtedly, the real feeling of all parties at the North in behalf of every effort to promote the prosperity of the South. Demagogues here in the North, as well as in the South, are indeed maintaining, as their fundamental principle, the pretended axiom that "*the North hates the South.*" Such demagogues are the genuine enemies of both sections. That many things in the South are reprehended as injurious to the South, and unjust to other sections, is true. But those things are the real impediments to Southern prosperity, and their removal would promote the highest Southern interests, and their candid specification is an act of friendship. But Mr. Boutwell's proposal to use the national force against the South, as not possessing "a republican form of government," would be a stretch both of interpretation and of power which the Republican party will never adopt and the people of the North would never sustain. All the States are in possession of "a republican form of government," and the whole constitutional duty of Congress is, therefore, fulfilled. But for the central government to go farther and assume to decide whether all the specific acts, executive, legislative, or personal, under that "form" are consistent with the spirit of the "form," would be going beyond the record. It would be thereby unconstitutional, arbitrary, and leading to very dangerous complications. There are true "States' rights," and the fact that those "rights" have been illegitimately asserted should never induce us to consent to their obliteration. That the wrongs of which Mr. Boutwell complains exist there is no doubt. But there are other remedies than force, which will bring an earlier, safer, and more effective correction than any central force can accomplish.

The Princeton Review, November, 1880. (New York.) 1. The Ultimate Design of Man; by Prof. Frederic Godet, D.D. 2. How Congress and the Public Deal with a Great Revenue and Industrial Problem; by Hon. David A. Wells. 3. The Sabbath Question; by President Seelye. 4. Agnosticism in Kant; by Prof. Ormond. 5. The Antiquity of Man and the Origin of Species; by Principal Dawson. 6. The Historical Proofs of Christianity; by George P. Fisher. 7. Criteria of the Various Kinds of Truth; by President M'Cosh.

The following extract from Dr. Dawson's article, furnishes a notice of the profound researches of Barrande of Bohemia in

earliest paleontology. It will be seen that they are very conclusive against any theory of genetic derivation of species:

Barrande, like some other eminent paleontologists, has the misfortune to be an unbeliever in the modern gospel of evolution, but he has certainly labored to overcome his doubts with greater assiduity than even many of the apostles of the new doctrine; and if he is not convinced, the stubbornness of the facts he has had to deal with must bear the blame. In connection with his great and classical work on the Silurian fossils of Bohemia, it has been necessary for him to study the similar remains of every other country, and he has used this immense mass of material in preparing statistics of the population of the Paleozoic world more perfect than any other naturalist has been able to produce. In previous publications he has applied these statistical results to the elucidation of the history of the oldest group of crustaceans, the trilobites, and the highest group of the mollusks, the cephalopods. In his latest memoir of this kind he takes up the brachiopods, or lamp-shells, a group of bivalve shellfishes, very ancient and very abundantly represented in all the older formations of every part of the world, and which thus affords the most ample material for tracing its evolution, with the least possible difficulty in the nature of "imperfection of the record."

Barrande, in the publication before us, discusses the brachiopods with reference, first, to the variations observed within the limits of the species, eliminating in this way mere synonyms and varieties mistaken for species. He also arrives at various important conclusions with reference to the origin of species and varietal forms, which apply to the cephalopods and trilobites as well as to the brachiopods, and some of which, as the writer has elsewhere shown, apply very generally to fossil animals and plants. One of these is that different contemporaneous species, living under the same conditions, exhibit very different degrees of vitality and variability. Another is the sudden appearance at certain horizons of a great number of species, each manifesting its complete specific characters. With very rare exceptions, also, varietal forms are contemporaneous with the normal form of their specific type, and occur in the same localities. Only in a very few cases do they survive it. This and the previous results, as well as the fact that parallel changes go on in groups having no direct reaction on each other, prove that variation is not a progressive influence, and that specific distinctions are not dependent on it, but on the "sovereign action of one and the same creative cause," as Barrande expresses it. These conclusions, it may be observed, are not arrived at by that slap-dash method of mere assertion so often followed on the other side of these questions; but by the most severe and painstaking induction, and with careful elaboration of a few apparent exceptions and doubtful cases.

His second heading relates to the distribution in time of the

genera and species of brachiopods. This he illustrates with a series of elaborate tables, accompanied by explanation. He then proceeds to consider the animal population of each formation, in so far as brachiopods, cephalopods, and trilobites are concerned, with reference to the following questions: 1. How many species are continued from the previous formation unchanged? 2. How many may be regarded as modifications of previous species? 3. How many are migrants from other regions where they have been known to exist previously? 4. How many are absolutely new species? These questions are applied to each of 14 successive formations included in the Silurian of Bohemia. The total number of species of brachiopods in these formations is 640, giving an average of 45.71 to each, and the results of accurate study of each species in its characters, its varieties, its geographical and geological range, are expressed in the following short statement, which should somewhat astonish those gentlemen who are so fond of asserting that derivation is "demonstrated" by geological facts:

1. Species continued unchanged.....	28	per cent.
2. Species migrated from abroad.....	7	"
3. Species continued with modification.....	0	"
4. New species without known ancestors...	65	"
	100	per cent.

He shows that the same or very similar proportions hold with respect to the cephalopods and trilobites, and in fact that *the proportion of species in the successive Silurian faunæ, which can be attributed to descent with modification* is absolutely *nil*. He may well remark that in the face of such facts the origin of species is not explained by what he terms "les élans poétiques de l'imagination."

I have thought it well to direct attention to these memoirs of Barrande, because they form a specimen of conscientious work with the view of ascertaining if there is any basis in nature for the doctrine of spontaneous evolution of species, and, I am sorry to say, a striking contrast to the mixture of fact and fancy on this subject which too often passes current for science in England, America, and Germany. Barrande's studies are also well deserving the attention of our younger men of science, as they have before them, more especially in the widely spread Paleozoic formations of America, an admirable field for similar work. In an appendix to his first chapter, Barrande mentions that the three men who, in their respective countries, are the highest authorities on Paleozoic brachiopods, Hall, Davidson, and De Koninck, agree with him in the main in his conclusions, and he refers to an able memoir by D'Archiac, in the same sense, on the cretaceous brachiopods.—Pp. 396–398.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1880. (London.)—1. Professor Robertson Smith and the Pentateuch. 2. "Scotch Sermons, 1880." 3. Ten Days in Strassbourg. 4. Christ's Victory over Death. 5. Missions and Missionaries. 6. Spinozism and Old Testament Criticism. 7. On the Church Crisis in England. 8. The Faith of Islam. 9. The Moral Basis of Faith.

British Quarterly Review, October, 1880. (London.)—1. Tennyson's Poems. 2. The Lord's Supper Historically Considered. 3. The Art of Singing, Past and Present. 4. A Dutchman on South Africa. 5. Latham on Examinations. 6. Sir James Outram. 7. Exploration and Mission Work in Africa. 8. The Practice of an Architect. 9. Lord Northbrook and Lord Lytton.

Westminster Review, October, 1880. (New York.)—1. Paul and Seneca. 2. The Parliamentary Oath Question; Mr. Bradlaugh's Case. 3. Caroline Von Linsingen and King William IV. 4. Plato and his Times. 5. Chastity. 6. "The Religious Instinct" of the House of Commons. 7. East Indian Currency and Exchange. 8. India and our Colonial Empire. 9. The Colonies.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1880. (New York.)—1. Recent Travels in Japan. 2. Cicero. 3. Art Collections. 4. Mr. Morley's Diderot. 5. The Camisards. 6. Olympia. 7. The Newspaper Press. 8. The Marshal Duke of Saldanha. 9. Six Months of Liberal Government.

London Quarterly Review, October. (London.)—1. Herbert on the Lord's Supper. 2. Is Islam Progressive? 3. Theological Change in Scotland. 4. Dr. Rigg's Discourses. 5. Faust. 6. Devotion of Nehemiah. 7. The Methodist Conference.

The third article reviews Dr. Caird's "Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," a volume of rather free *Scotch Sermons* by a number of bold young speculators, and other publications. The following opening paragraph describes the spread of

The Scottish Rationalistic Movement.

The works whose titles we have placed at the head of this paper are among the "signs of the times." They add to the many palpable and abounding evidences that in Scotland the retreat from Calvinism has become a stampede. . The defection began long ago, and uttered its voice in many a moan of "Moderatism;" but during the last half century the spread of science, the advance of wealth and culture, the disruption of Churches, the agency of Methodism, and the contact of Scotchmen with men in every part of the earth, have combined to weaken the theological system which once seemed so firm. Now its collapse seems so imminent that men literally overrun each other in their flight to other places of shelter. In the transition we fear that precious things may be lost, useful landmarks will be obliterated, and positions may be yielded in panic which could be easily sustained. But the operation which is progressing is full of instruction to men of all Churches; and a movement so fraught with importance to the most tremendous interests of belief and religion will be watched with intense concern by the eyes of all Christendom.—P. 72.

The following statement of Dr. Caird's denial that life can be explained by mechanism is excellent:

As we have already intimated, the chief end of Dr. Caird's cogitations is to reply to Materialism. He insists that this theory is totally inadequate to explain the phenomena of mind. It supposes mind to be a function of matter, yet cannot take its first step without employing categories of thought. The empiricist talks of Matter, Law, and Force, as if they were real entities, on the level of sensuous things. Though experience is more than sensation, yet his axiom, "All knowledge is from experience," assumes that experience and sensation are identical. Experience is One, and Sensations are Many; Sensation is diversified, but reason gives it Unity. The relation and co-ordination are from the self-conscious Ego. Mechanical causes can never explain the operations of mind. Vital, chemical, and physical relations are not to be resolved into one order. The purely chemical has never yet produced life; protoplasm analyzed is not living but dead, and when living it presents new phenomena which involve a new factor. Though matter should contain potencies of life, yet life contains a new and higher conception. It involves "a richer movement," (Hegelian momentum,) containing at least three ideas. These are—First, Systematic Unity. A stone has inorganic unity—is "a concourse of atoms;" but the organized being has order, proportion, diversity, and function applied to an end. Secondly, While the inorganic has artificial unity, the organic has a self-supporting development and unity; the parts are necessary to the whole, and the whole to the parts. The cause lies, indeed, in its effects—is, indeed, its own cause. . . . The third element in the conception of life which transcends the category of force is found in self-consciousness. Tindall and Huxley have imagined that the mechanical equivalent to thought may some time be found. Dr. Caird thinks the mystery of the connection between matter and mind to be both greater and less than these writers suppose. It is less: for since material phenomena can be known to mind, there is no impassable gulf between them; yet it is greater, for physical causation cannot explain it. He asserts that the indivisible unity of consciousness transcends all differences. The whole consciousness is present in every thought. The analogy, therefore, between material forces and spiritual motives is fallacious. With this, of course, there collapses the differentia of Calvinism as elaborated by Jonathan Edwards.—P. 78.

Of the *Scotch Sermons* we need give only the following specimen by Rev. W. M'Farlan:

He says: "Many religious teachers admit that the dogmas of scholastic theology must be abandoned or greatly modified. The sections of that theology which treat of sin and salvation they regard as specially untenable. These sections comprehend the following dogmas: (1) the descent of man from the Adam of

the Book of Genesis; (2) the fall of that Adam from a state of original righteousness by eating the forbidden fruit; the imputation of Adam's guilt to all posterity; (4) the consequent death of all men in sin; (5) the redemption in Christ of an election according to grace; (6) the quickening in the elect of a new life (*a*) at their baptism Catholics affirm, (*b*) at their conversion most Protestants allege; (7) the eternal punishment and perdition of those who remain unregenerate. These sections of the traditional theology of Christendom—originally elaborated by Augustine, amended and developed by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, adopted wholesale by the Puritans—dominated the Christian intellect for centuries. They have ceased to dominate it."—P. 220.

We will add to this what Dr. Macintosh says on the Atonement and on Forgiveness: "By his death on the cross Christ may be said, in a figurative sense indeed, to have expiated our sins, or to have purchased their remission; it being important to observe that the figures vary. But what he did, in the strict and literal sense, was to reveal to us the infinite placability of the divine Nature. . . . We define forgiveness to be the persistence of divine love in spite of our sins."—Pp. 177, 181.

We need no further witness of the disintegration and dissolution of Calvinism. That it was among "the things which should not be shaken," we never believed. But, unfortunately, in its dissolution, the Gospel also is in danger of being lost. These writers seem to have no idea of an evangelical system without the forms in which their fathers have so firmly trusted. These sermons reveal an utter weariness with mere orthodoxy, with the bald evangelicalism which despises good works, with the theory of human nature which denies that a saving Spirit is given to every man. They insist that justification is nothing without regeneration, that election is nothing without holiness, and protest in the name of morality against a doctrine of "salvation" which gives a bad man the hope of heaven because he is "elected," and shuts out the man who diligently pursues the path of moral goodness. But these protestations are made now as if for the first time; as if no one had been qualified to denounce these theological absurdities before the "science" and "biblical criticism" of the latter days made it imperative. We are afraid that these writers have never read the works of John Fletcher, which no less an authority than Dr. Döllinger declares to be "the most important theological productions which issued from Protestantism in the latter part of the eighteenth century." They do not recognize the fact that Methodism is escaping the shock of modern Rationalism, to a very large extent, because it separated from Calvinism a century since. They have not permitted themselves to be sufficiently unprejudiced to learn from Wesley and his followers that "good works" are an essential part of the Gospel as well as "faith;" and to vindicate the one they repudiate the other.—Pp. 92, 93.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1881. First Number—*Essays:* 1. DORNER, Hartmann's Pessimistic Philology. 2. ERHARDT, The Views of the Reformers on National Economy, (Second Article.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. WAHZ, Exegetical Remarks on John vii, 22–24. 2. KAWERAU, Five Letters Written in the Days of Luther's Death. *Reviews:* 1. GOEBEL, The Parables of Jesus, reviewed by ACHELIS. 2. HERRLINGER, Melanchthon's Theology, reviewed by TSCHAKERT. 3. RYSSEL, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, reviewed by SCHULTZE.

In the opinion of Dr. Dorner, the modern system of Pessimism, which has of late spread so extensively, has gained a special claim to attentive consideration by the fact that it does not confine itself to criticising the present condition of our civilization, but that it attempts to set forth a complete cosmic view, which, though inconsistent in many respects, may be taken as an indication how earnestly a large portion of our contemporaries have embraced it. Dr. Dorner was induced by this consideration to examine critically the scientific character which Pessimism has assumed in the philosophy of Edward von Hartmann, who, he says, considerably distances all the pessimistic writers of the present age by attempting to set forth a philosophical system embracing all parts of philosophy.

The name of Edward von Hartmann has repeatedly been mentioned in the former volumes of the Methodist Quarterly Review. He holds a high rank among the first writers of philosophical literature, even in the opinion of those who, like Dr. Dorner, believe that his system is radically false and injurious to the best interests of mankind. It may, therefore, not be out of place if we give a brief account of his life and his works before we extract a few passages from Dr. Dorner's very interesting article. Edward von Hartmann is the son of the Prussian general Robert von Hartmann, and was born in 1842. He received the excellent scientific education which is imparted in the military schools of Prussia, and at the early age of eighteen became an officer of the Prussian army. A nervous disease of the knee, which began in 1861 and gradually grew worse, compelled him, in 1865, to ask for his discharge from the standing army. Even while in the army he had earnestly devoted himself to philosophical studies, the results of which he published, in 1869, in his work, *Die Philosophie des Unbewussten*, (The Philosophy of the Unconscious.) The

publication of this book produced a sensation in the philosophical world. It gave to its author, at the age of only twenty-seven, a world-wide celebrity. It had a circulation probably exceeding that of any previous work of the same character. The success appeared all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the author had been brought up for the military career, and not for that of philosopher. The first edition of the work was published in 1869, the seventh in 1875. The publication of this work was rapidly followed by a large number of smaller works on philosophy, religion, education, and a great variety of other subjects. In fact, Hartmann belongs to the most prolific writers of the present age. A collection of his essays was published under the title, *Gesammelte philosophische Abhandlungen zur Philosophie des Unbewussten*, (Collection of Philosophical Treatises on the Philosophy of the Unconscious. Berlin, 1872.) A little work on "The Decay of Christianity and the Religion of the Future," (1874,) attracted considerable attention, and called forth a great many replies. The second great work of Hartmann was published in 1879, under the title "Phenomenology of the Ethical Consciousness," (*Phaenomenologie des sittlichen Bewustseins.*) Hartmann's wife, Agnes, has written, under her maiden name, A. Taubert, a work under the title, "Pessimism and its Opponents." (Berlin, 1873.) Works in defense of the new philosophy have also been written by Du Prel, Venetianer, Mainländer, and others. The number of books written against Hartmann's system in particular, and against the pessimistic philosophy in general, is very extensive. Dr. Dorner, in the article from which we give some extracts, quotes the following works and articles: Rehmke, "Remarks on Hartmann's Phenomenology," in the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, (1879:) Michelis, (Old Catholic,) "Philosophy of the Unconscious;" Ebrard, (one of the most prominent theologians of the German Protestant Church,) "Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious," (1876;) Golther, (State Minister of Würtemberg,) "Modern Pessimism;" Pfleiderer, "Modern Pessimism;" Weygoldt, "Critique of Modern Pessimism." The German Cyclopædias mention, moreover, works against Hartmann by Tobias, Haym, Weis, B. Meyer, Knauer, Volkelt, and J. C. Fisher. A full account of Hart

mann's Philosophy, and of its influence in the philosophical world, may be found in Vaihinger, "Hartmann, Düring, and Lange, Contributions to the History of German Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century," (1876;) and Oscar Schmidt, "The Physical Bases of the Philosophy of the Unconscious," (1876.) Hartmann's autobiography has been published in the German periodical, *Die Gegenwart*, 1875.

Hartmann designated his stand-point as a Monism, conciliating Hegel's logical idea and Schopenhauer's blind will in the unity of the Unconscious, which in his system occupies the same place as Spinoza's substance, Fichte's absolute I, (Ego,) Schelling's absolute subject-object. The Unconscious, according to Hartmann, is both will and idea, both real and ideal, both unlogical and logical, and the development of the world is nothing but the continuous conflict of these two elements which ends in the triumph of the logical, or the idea, over the unlogical, or the will. Since the unlogical, or will, constitutes the foundation and essence of the world, the world itself is anti-rational in its existence and essence; and it is the task of reason to reduce the anti-rational will to non-will, and to the painlessness of nothing, (the Nirvâna of Buddhism and of Schopenhauer,) as the redemption from the torment of existence, not of individual men, (by suicide, etc.,) but of mankind. Therefore the pessimistic view of the unhappiness in the world does not lead to quietism, to cowardly personal resignation and retirement, to a denial of the world, (as in Schopenhauer's system,) but it rather produces a full devotion of the personality to the development of the world for the sake of its aim—the universal redemption of mankind—and thus it leads to a positive affirmation of the will for life, to a reconciliation with life.

Dr. Dorner's article on Hartmann's system fills 106 pages in the "Studien und Kritiken." It treats of it in the following sections: 1. His Relation to Schopenhauer; 2. His Theory of Cognition, (Erkenntnisstheorie;) 3. Metaphysics; 4. Physics; 5. Teleology, (Zweckbegriff;) 6. Critique of his Metaphysics; 7. Presuppositions of Ethics; 8. Ethical Principle; 9. Ethics, considered in their different aspects; 10. Relation to Religion; 11. Conclusion.

As regards Hartmann's views on religion, we learn from Dr. Dorner's essay that Hartmann, like Schopenhauer, respects

religion in general as the people's metaphysics. "The nude bestiality of the social democracy," he says, "as exhibited in its cosmopolitan exultation over the horrors of the Paris Commune, shows to what degree of brutality a people may attain when it loses with religion the only shape in which idealism is accessible to it. Yea, religion contains not only the mere metaphysical ideas of the people, but also the means to give, upon the basis of these metaphysics, an impulse as vigorous and lasting as possible to the religious feelings, namely, religious worship and religious ethics. . . . All ideals and the devotion of the mind to the ideal are embodied, according to the people's view in religion. It is only religion which continually admonishes him that there is something higher than eating, drinking, and wedding; that this temporal world of the senses is not for him something final, but only the appearance of the eternal, supersensual and ideal, the shadows of which we see here as in a mist." Therefore, religion must always remain the living source for the emotional element in religious worship, and for the ethical emotion of the will. It is the only means to preserve the people from the terrible excesses of subjectivism. Philosophy may rise above these popular metaphysics; it also may gradually elevate the people to higher stages of consciousness. While thus paying some kind of respect to religion he denounces theology as a false and spurious science, and charges it with doing nothing but to reduce the ideas of popular imagination to a scientific form, without, in fact, rising above this low stand-point. He assumes an impassable gap to exist between science and religion. Therefore he thinks that it cannot be the mission of the men of science to transform religion, except it be by producing ideas which others may clothe for popular use into more popular forms. It is a matter of course that in his opinion religion and philosophy coincide for the philosopher. The development of religion proceeds from Polytheism through the contrast of the popular mind of the Aryans and Semites. Both try, in different ways, to overcome Polytheism. The former, especially the Indians, obtain this unity of an impersonal deity, but are unable to carry it through in the consciousness of the people, where Polytheism maintains itself, even among the Buddhists. The Semites, on the other hand, while overcoming Polytheism, only reach an anthropomorphised

personal God. The true religion would lie in the union of the Aryan and the Semitic ideas; the Semites must furnish the Monotheistic, the Indians the Pantheistic element. Christianity is regarded as the first unsuccessful attempt to effect this union. In its ideas of God, Hartmann says it knows only one God, and him it conceives as a personal God; besides, in the doctrine of the Trinity a relapse into Polytheism is not avoided. Hartmann especially censures the theism of Christianity as requiring "heteronomous" ethics. He attempts to trace the "heteronomous" character of the Christian ethics both in the Roman Catholic and the Protestant systems. His views on Protestantism, however, have considerably changed. While in the work on the decay of Christianity he calls Protestantism "the grave-digger of Christianity," he makes it in his "Phenomenology" the "preparatory grade in the school of humanity," without the passage of which no people can reach an ethical autonomy as a safe possession.

In the final chapter of his essay Dr. Dorner reviews the principal points of Hartmann's philosophy. He especially endeavors to show up its inconsistency. "It hovers," says Dr. Dorner, "between heaven and earth. Too lame to reach heaven, it is yet unable to feel at home upon earth. Thus Pessimism, and particularly Hartmann's philosophy, will maintain its significance in the history of German philosophy as a stage of transition from the rule of empiricism and eudemonism to a new positive-ideal progress."

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Brieger. *Treatises and Essays:* 1. RITSCHL, The Books entitled "On Spiritual Poverty." 2. VÖLTER, The Sect of Swäbisch-Hall and the Origin of the German "Kaisersage." *Critical Reviews:* BENRATH, History of the Reformation in Italy. The Literature of the Years 1876 to 1879. *Analecta:* 1. ERICHSON, Hedios Itinerarium. 2. KAWERAU, Letters and Documents Relating to the History of the Antinomistic Controversy. 3. Miscellaneous Remarks, by SAUERBREI and BENRATH.

We have called attention in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review to the excellent department headed "Critical Reviews." In it distinguished Church historians review from time to time all the new works published in the course of a few years on some section of Church history. A review in the present number, by Dr. Benrath, of new works treating of the Reformation in Italy, is equal to the best articles of this kind which have appeared in this periodical. Dr. Benrath is

a young lecturer in the faculty of Protestant theology of Bonn, who has made the study of the Italian Reformation a specialty, and has already acquired the reputation of being one of the highest living authorities on the subject. In his present article he enumerates eighteen new works, and briefly gives the chief contents of each. He had previously contributed an article of the same kind to the volume of this periodical for 1875, and in 1876 had published a small work, entitled, "On the Sources of the History of the Italian Reformation." The author expresses, in his present article, great joy at the activity which is now exhibited by the Italians themselves to bring to light the hidden treasures of the Italian libraries relating to the conflicts between the Papacy and the Liberal governments of a number of Italian States in the sixteenth century. He quotes, as a document of special importance, a circular issued in 1876 by the Minister of Justice, Mancini, to the Directors of the State Archives, in which he says: "Among the most glorious leaves of the annals of Italy we must count those which report examples of civil courage and firmness of individuals and governments who dared bravely to resist a power which had become terrible to the existence and independence of the nation. But the documents which give testimony of such manifestations of national life are for the most part yet unknown. I believe I render an important service to the interests of the nation if I should succeed in compiling and in publishing from the various archives of the principal cities a collection of hitherto unedited and little-known documents of this class." The minister recommends especially search for documents bearing upon the relations between the House of Savoy and the Curia, the conflicts between Venice and Paul V., the opposition of Naples against the introduction of the Inquisition, etc.

A very valuable library of books relating to the history of the Reformation of Italy has been collected by Count Piero Guicciardini, and has been since 1877 in possession of the city of Florence. Count Guicciardini, the venerable patriarch among the native converts to Protestantism, had at first conceived the plan of collecting all the Italian translations of the Bible from the fifteenth century to the present time. While he examined for this purpose the libraries of Switzerland,

France, and England, the plan was gradually enlarged so as to include all works relating to the history of the Reformation. For eighteen years Count Guicciardini devoted his time and a large portion of his property to collecting works on this subject, and he succeeded in forming a library of more than three thousand volumes. The library has been put in order and catalogued by T. P. Rossetti, who has given a description of it in the "Vedetta Christiana," May 1, 1877.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) September, 1880.—1. Alone, Amelia de Lassaulx. 2. Bruston, On the Morality of the Song of Songs. 3. Crazalet, Frederic Mistral. 4. Ducros, Vinet's Individualism. 5. Pressense, Reply to the Preceding Article.

October.—1. Alone, Amelia de Lassaulx. 2. Cunning, Dante Alighieri. 3. Bouscasse, On the Religious Instruction of Children.

November.—1. Bianqui, Sermon on the Reformation. 2. Cunning, Dante Alighieri, (Second Article.) 3. Jacot, Some Words of Professor Beck. 4. Nyegaard, Assistant Pastors. 5. Loriot, A Great Man and a Great Nature.

Among the most distinguished persons who joined the Old Catholic movement of Germany was the Superior of the Convent of the Sisters of Charity, at Bonn, Amelia de Lassaulx. She was the descendant of a distinguished family at Coblentz, on the Rhine, which, as the name indicates, was of French origin. She was one of six children, all of whom made their mark in the world, the most distinguished being her brother, Ernest de Lassaulx, who became Professor at the University of Munich, and was regarded, with Döllinger, as one of the pillars of the Catholic interests at that important institution. Like her father and all her brothers and sisters, Amelia was early noted for a strong, unconquerable will. Her parents wished to marry her against her will, but she successfully resisted, because a mysterious love, in regard to which her biographers observe an absolute silence, prevented her from accepting the propositions made to her. She subsequently gave her entire affections to a young man whom for a time she thought to be the model of all perfections. When she found out that in her estimation of her lover she had been sadly mistaken, she broke not only

with him, but, as many Catholic girls do in similar circumstances, with the world, and resolved to become a nun. At the beginning of the present century there was a remarkable revival of the spirit of charity in Germany, both among Protestants and Catholics. Among the former Amelia Sieveking gained immortal laurels by her efforts in behalf of the poor. Among Catholics the young women flocked in large numbers to the religious orders which specially devote their labors to the care of the sick and poor. Amelia's elder sister had previously taken the veil as a "Gray Sister" at Nancy, France. Amelia concluded to follow her example; and she did follow it in spite of the remonstrances of her relations and friends, who, on account of her strong individualism, believed her unsuited for monastic life. At this time a mild type of Roman Catholicism prevailed in Germany and in many other countries. That system of ultramontanism which was dogmatized in 1870 by the Vatican Council had but few zealous defenders. The Christian doctrines which Catholics hold in common with Evangelical Protestants were thought of greater moment than those which separate the large divisions of Christianity. Amelia de Lassaulx fully entered into this spirit, and when gradually the spiritual atmosphere in the Church began to change, and a rigid ultramontane Churchism began to claim an unconditional and a foremost recognition, Sister Amelia felt as though a new religion, full of childish practices and of superstitions, had been grafted upon the religion in which she had grown up. Her diary shows in many places that the consciousness of this difference caused her great pain, and her conscience revolted against much which she considered as being at variance with the teachings of Christ and the Christianity of the Bible. She had by this time risen to a prominent position in her order. At the age of only thirty-two years she was appointed Superior of a new house of her order which was established at Bonn. In this position she developed an extraordinary talent of organization, which was subsequently exhibited on a much larger scale when she was called upon, in the campaigns of Schleswig and Bohemia, to organize or reorganize the service of ambulances. Her eminent success in the management of the affairs of the convent was recognized by the Superiors of the order, who sent her from different houses many novices for education,

especially such about whose fitness or abilities serious doubts were entertained.

To many young women she thus became a guide to the attainment of an inner religious life, which found greater consolation in a strong Christian faith, in an ardent love of God and the poor, than in the strict observation of the many ceremonies of the Church. She weaned herself more and more from the narrow views which are so often met with in pious Catholic women, who are justly admired for their heroic devotion to works of Christian charity. She sought and appreciated the friendship of distinguished men and women; and among her best friends at Bonn she even counted a number of Protestants, as Professor Mendelssohn and his wife, the wife of Professor Sulpice Boisseré, and especially Professor Perthes. Her spiritual adviser was Professor Hilgers, of the theological faculty of Bonn, who preached every Sunday in her chapel, in the place of the Jesuits, of whom she had a great horror. In the campaign of Schleswig she at one time assisted a Lutheran pastor in giving to a sick soldier the Lord's Supper, an act which was never forgiven by the zealous ultramontanes. From 1855 to 1868 she lost her mother, her brothers Ernest and Hermann, her sister Nannette, and her friend Professor Perthes. The only member of her family who survived was her sister Clementine, Superior of the Convent of Luxemburgh, who was of an entirely different character, and had but little sympathy with her. The severe trial through which she had thus to pass was interrupted by the great crisis in her Church which began with the Vatican Council in 1870, and the dogmatization of papal infallibility. She felt the warmest sympathy with the eighty-eight bishops who voted against the new dogma, and felt all the more aggrieved when these bishops in rapid succession gave in their submission to the Pope, until at last only one remained, Bishop Strossmeyer. Even for him she trembled, and justly, for he, too, finally yielded to the demands of Rome. She felt some consolation in the fact that a man like Döllinger remained firm in his opposition. "Let us praise God," she said; "as long as such an apostle of truth and justice lives, I do not want to lose courage." She was at first opposed to the organization of the Old Catholic Church, which appeared to her like a schism, but after a time she perceived the necessity of the

movement, and approved of it. She was determined not to conceal her view; at the same time she did not deem it necessary to proclaim it before she was asked. This time soon came. She was denounced to the Superior of her order by a person whom, several years before, she had charitably received into her convent. The mistress of novices was sent from Nancy to Bonn to ascertain her belief concerning Papal Infallibility. She frankly and promptly acknowledged it. "And as to the Immaculate Conception," she was asked, "do you not believe in it, either?" "As a dogma," she said, "I do not believe in it either," and added, "I wish to keep until death the Catholic faith in which I was born, in which I was raised, which I have faithfully observed all my life. I shall not allow new doctrines to be imposed upon me." A few days later the Mother Superior arrived herself from Nancy, and when the above declaration was repeated, Amelia de Lassaulx, after having twenty-five years presided over the Community of Bonn, was deposed from her office. She was told that she could not remain in Bonn, and though her health was so feeble that her physician forbade an immediate departure, she was removed to a little hospital of the order at Vallendaar, near Coblentz. Her friends in Bonn invited her to leave the order and reside with them, but she considered herself bound by her vows, and concluded to remain and die in the order. Death soon relieved her from further suffering. She arrived at Vallendaar December 14, 1871, and died January 28, 1872. All who surrounded her deathbed united in asking her to submit, but she finally refused. Her dying words were two verses from a Protestant hymn,

> "Lord Jesus, in Thee I live,
> Lord Jesus, in Thee I die,"

and several times she ejaculated the words, "Come, Lord Jesus." By order of the Superior the body was deprived of the monastic dress, and it was even forbidden to place a crucifix in her hands. In accordance with her wish, the body was interred in the Catholic cemetery of Coblentz, in the vault of the Lassaulx family. Permission was obtained only with great difficulty to carry the corpse through the large gate of the cemetery. Orders had been given that no priest be present or officiate at the funeral. The Old Catholic Professor Reusch, of the Uni-

versity of Bonn, was only allowed to recite the Lord's Prayer. Several excellent biographies related the story of her holy, devoted life to the German people. At the head of the article from which the foregoing remarks are taken we find the titles of two French works, "Courte Notice sur Amélie de Lassaulx," by H. Lecoultre, with an introduction of M. Hyacinthe Loyson, priest, Paris, 1879; and "Amélie de Lassaulx, en religion soeur Augustine." The latter work contains an authorized translation of her "Reminiscences." Lausanne, 1880. Among the innumerable articles which the leading papers of Germany and France have devoted to her life, the admirable article which E. de Pressensé has contributed to the "Journal des Debats," deserves to be prominently mentioned. He calls Amelia de Lassaulx the Saint of the Catholic Reformation.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

WHILE in 1879 three Old Catholic synods met in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, only one assembled in 1880, that of Switzerland. The Swiss synod began its sessions at Geneva on May 20. From the annual report of Bishop Herzog it appears that the Christian Catholic Church in Switzerland has suffered since the synod of 1879 the loss of twelve parishes and ten priests. This loss was due to the recurrence of the six years' period of popular election of priests. In the parishes where the Roman Catholic party had a majority it elected the priest and retook possession of the church property. Most of the parishes which were lost had been but nominally held, the number of Old Catholics being very small; but in three, at least, there is a very strong body of Christian-Catholics who demand the services of a priest and the use of a church. In these three the reformers having lost the income of the parish, which goes with the election, have to support their priests out of their own resources. In two cases of a contested election the Old Catholics were in a majority and held the parish. Other losses were in prospect for the current year. To support their services in the places which the Old Catholics lose the government grant, the bishop has appealed to the generosity of the Anglican Churches, and in his report he acknowledges the receipt of 5,000 francs from the secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society of London. The bishop reports fifty-nine priests as being at work in Switzerland, as against seventy-two of 1879; and five students of the Berne University were awaiting ordination. Among the losses of ecclesiastics since the synod of 1879 only two were cases of secession to

Rome. There was no diminution in any canton but Berne and Geneva. The number of established parishes in the possession of Old Catholics was forty-eight. A Christian-Catholic Prayer Book which had been prepared by Bishop Herzog, after the model of the Anglican manual, was adopted by the synod as the official manual of the Christian-Catholic Church, and it was ordered that the office of the mass contained therein should be used universally. A committee of five, consisting of the bishop and the two German-speaking and two French-speaking members, was appointed for the completion of the rubrics and for the preparation of an edition suitable for theological use. Among those attending the synod as visitors were Dr. Riley, Bishop of the Valley of Mexico; Lord Plunket, Bishop of Meath; and M. Hyacinthe Loyson, rector of the Gallican Church in Paris. In September and October, Bishop Herzog, in response to friendly invitations, paid a visit to the United States, and attended, in particular, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He repeatedly performed in Episcopal churches liturgical acts in his own clerical garments, and expressed himself strongly in favor of establishing a closer intercommunion between the Anglican and the Old Catholic Churches.

The Old Catholic Church of Germany has now settled into a round of synod and congress to be held in alternate years. The former is the authoritative legislative body, the latter, like the Church congresses in the Anglican Church of England and the United States, a popular, tone-giving assembly. As the synod had been held in 1879, a congress met again in 1880. It took place at Baden-Baden from Sept. 12 to 14, and was the seventh since the rise of the Old Catholic movement, the former having been held at Munich, Cologne, Constance, Freiburg, Breslau, and Mainz. The congress in 1880 was well attended by delegates from the congregations, over 150 being present. The Berne and Munich professors still hold aloof from the meetings of the Church. Among the prominent men of the Church who attended were Bishop Reinkens and the Professors Schulte, Michelis, and Knoodt. Among the visitors from abroad were an Old Catholic priest of Austria and five Anglican clergymen. Letters of friendly greeting were sent by six Anglican bishops and the Old Catholic or Jansenist Archbishop of Holland. Professor Michelis made an interesting report of a visit he had just paid to the neighboring city of Constance, where an ultramontane congress had been in session. He had preached there, and had publicly challenged the bishops attending the congress to discuss with him the following thesis: "The personal infallibility of the Pope is either a Catholic dogma or a terrible imposture; it is not a Catholic dogma, because it is not contained in Scripture, is not handed down in tradition, and has not been decreed by an ecumenical council; therefore it is a fearful imposture." Bishop Reinkens reported favorably on the progress of the Church in Germany. The progress was not large, but it could be tabulated. The figures of the present year gave a slight advance all along the line over those of the last year; but then it must be remem-

ted that in 1876–78 a somewhat serious falling off had been observable. The number of Old Catholics of Germany is still somewhat under the 50,000 returned a few years ago, and the number of priests is also proportionately less; the announcement, therefore, that at last there was a turn in the tide was received with great satisfaction. The congress adopted the following resolutions as expressive of the present stand-point of the Old Catholic party in relation to the papacy: 1. An actual and effective contradiction between faith in the fundamental truths of Christianity founded upon the testamentary proof of history, and science grounded upon the immediate facts of nature and mind, is not possible. Each protects, carries on, and completes the other. 2. The independent character of national Churches is just as much in accordance with the universal character of the Church as are national peculiarities in the State, art, and science, with the general object of culture. 3. It is a mischievous error of many Protestants to regard the Church which the adherents of the Vatican are bound to recognize as the only rightful one, as the shield of faith, a rallying point for authority in civil and social affairs, and a protection against destructive socialistic tendencies, and therefore to adopt it as a conservative ally. 4. History, the task and duty of self-preservation, compels the German empire to oppose the Vatican system. 5. Negotiations with the infallible Pope or his organs upon all matters which concern the promulgation of laws and the authority of the State are objectionable. Transactions of this kind lead to the dissolution of the national State. The Prussian government seems no longer to take the same interest in the progress of the movement as in former years; but when, in the beginning of the year, objection was made in the Prussian House of Deputies to that item of the budget which makes provision for the Old Catholic bishop, the minister, Herr von Puttkammer, stated, in the name of the government, that this arrangement was a part of the law of the land, and that the government intended to carry out the ecclesiastical laws as long as they remained on the statute books.

In Austria the Old Catholics appear to have made no progress. An application to the government, made by the synodal council which was elected in June, 1879, for recognition by the State, was denied by the minister of religion, who said that the State could not afford to grant it.

In France the congregation of M. Hyacinthe Loyson reported in June, 1880, a membership of about 1,000. It did not yet own a church building, and was about $1,000 in debt. It had three priests. On August 27 M. Loyson solemnized the marriage of a regular priest, Abbe Laine.

In Russia, the province of Volhynia has several communities of Bohemians who have attached themselves to the Old Catholic movement. They have three priests who are recognized and supported by the State. In reply to a memorial addressed to the Minister of the Interior, the priests even requested to hold a conference with some of the most influential of the Bohemian laymen to formulate a statement of their fundamental doctrines and organic constitution. This conference was to serve as a permanent organization and constitute a synodal council.

Art. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. By Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D. 8vo. 1880.

The Gospel of John, as our readers well know, has been one of the main battle-fields of Christian evidences, and the volumes published on the subject by our German cousins form an extensive library. One of the latest and most persistent assaults upon the genuineness of this gospel has been furnished by the author of "Supernatural Religion," a work which has passed through a number of editions. A royal service was done in behalf of its genuineness by a former distinguished professor in Harvard College, Andrews Norton; and it is refreshing to receive from Harvard even this brief posting of the subject down to the present hour from so thorough a scholar as Prof. Abbot.

The professor first counts the posts that have been won in the long war. *First.* The Tübingen theory, which imagined the Apostolic Church to be divided into two hostile camps—a Gentile, with Paul at its head, and a Judaic, under Peter and John; and that, therefore, John could not be the author of so anti-Jewish a gospel, is about abolished and extinct. We confess that we have never wasted our time in going into the depths of this theory, for it bore on its face an artificiality condemning it, *à priori*, as a German fandango. *Second.* The argument against the gospel derived from the paschal controversies is at an end. *Third.* The late dating the appearance of this gospel is now generally agreed to be untenable. Adverse criticism is compelled to admit so early a date that Church tradition, placing it at the close of the first century, is perfectly credible. The grounds thus cleared, the professor discusses the four main arguments for the authenticity: 1. The universal acceptance of the gospels as supreme authority in the latter half of the second century, necessitating the concession of their authority from the start. 2. The testimony of Justin Martyr. 3. The early Gnostic testimony to their authority. 4. The closing testimony of the gospel itself.

Justin Martyr justly figures as a very important witness in this trial. He gives us this classic passage: "On the day called Sunday all who live in cities, or in the country, gather together in one place, and the Memoirs by the Apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as time permits. When the reader

has finished, the president admonishes and exhorts to the imitation of these good things." Eight times he mentions these "Memoirs by the Apostles," once "Memoirs made by the Apostles, which are called Gospels," and once, in apparently quoting Luke, "Memoirs composed by the Gospel of Christ, and those who followed with them." The question is raised, Could these "Memoirs" be any other than our four gospels, John included?

The passage is of prime importance: 1. From the early position of Justin, whose life covered the immediate post-apostolic age so as to join on to the Canon itself. 2. From the permanence and universality of the practice of a liturgical reading of the gospels in the Christian Churches at this early date. 3. From the high rank thereby assigned to these "Memoirs," namely, a priority to the Old Testament prophets, liturgically read, in the churches as in the Jewish synagogues. We see thus how the canon came into spontaneous existence. And we may here note that the word *gospel*, εὐαγγέλιον, (good message,) was beautifully used by the primitive Church, as at the present day, to designate either of the four gospels as a book, then the common substance of the four as *the Gospel*, and, finally, the entire Christian doctrine.

Now, inasmuch as the next information on the subject finds the four evangelists thus read in supreme authority in all the Churches of the world, it is not easy to doubt that these were the so-"called gospels" of Justin. It is not easy to see how any one of these "gospels" could jump out of the hands of the churches, be supplanted by another, and never be heard of afterward.

But the opponents of the fourth gospel are competent to treat it with heroic practice. They maintain that the quotations of Justin are made, not from the present evangelists, but from some of the many spurious gospels extant in Justin's time. They show variations in language from our received gospel text. They even insinuate that the present gospel is later than Justin, and that Justin's quotations are really embodied into it from him. It is a wonderful world of research that has been brought to bear from all sides by the learned contributors to this part of the discussion. Our interest in it is less intense, from the fact that Baur & Co. have very little affected the mind of the American Church, and the noise of the battle has but faintly rumbled hither from another continent. This is all the better, from the fact that the heat of the fight is over, and men are beginning to wonder why the forced constructions of the firm aforesaid were ever thought worthy of so much racket. Prof. Abbot shows very clearly that there

were no such numerous spurious gospels in Justin's time as that his quotations could be attributed to them; that Justin's free quotations from memory are just such as he makes from the Old Testament, and such as are made by the fathers of the Church, and even by modern Christian writers very plentifully; and the priority of Justin to John's Gospel is essentially abandoned even by the opponents of the genuineness of the latter.

The fairness, clearness, and conclusiveness of Dr. Abbot's argument entitle him to the thanks of biblical scholars.

The Wesley Memorial Volume; or, Wesley and the Methodist Movement Judged by nearly One Hundred and Fifty Writers, Living and Dead. Edited by Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. Macon: J. W. Burke. Nashville: J. B. M'Ferrin. St. Louis: L. D. Dameron & Co. 1880. 8vo., pp. 744.

The enterprising editor of this elegant Memorial Volume has unwittingly furnished an ecumenical Methodist book preparatory to our Ecumenical Methodist Council. His aim was to bring within its pages a representative writer from every Methodist organization of every country or color. Whatever of differences have existed, all could unite upon Wesley, his doctrines and his work, as their common center. Signally happy is the father of the great Wesleyan family, in that his name is for all a note of harmony and oneness.

The Memorial Church, whose interests gave existence to this volume, is well entitled to this honor from its being erected "in the only city in America in which Mr. Wesley had a home and a parish." The beautiful city of Savannah has this singular pre-eminence in our South—a section rich in memorial spots of our Methodist primitive history. Our John-street Church in New York, where Embury inaugurated American Methodism, and Boston's beautiful Common, where Lee discharged the first gun for New England Methodism, are spots of memorial interest for every reflective Methodist in every section of our great country. Under Dr. Clark's suggestion and skillful guidance, Savannah now asserts her claim on unique grounds to being the most primitive memorial spot for Methodism in America.

The editor was singularly successful in obtaining ready contributions from a large corps of able pens in both England and America, both within and without the communion of Methodism. Such writers as Punshon, Rigg, Pope, and Tyerman represent English Methodism. Men like Bishops Simpson, E. O.

Haven, Foss, Dr. Newman, and Dr. Abel Stevens, represent our Methodist Episcopal Church. Of the lights of our Church South, there are Bishops M'Tyeire, G. F. Pierce, Wightman, Drs. Lipscomb and Summers, with several contributions from the prolific mind of the editor. From the colored American Churches are Bishop Holsey and Rev. B. F. Lee. From the other continent outside of Methodism are Dean Stanley, Mr. Gladstone, and de Pressensé. These are brilliant names, and the volume should be welcomed to the hands and hearts of universal Methodism as an ecumenical book. It will furnish an admirable prelude to the meeting of that approaching Council by which Catholic Methodism will stand out in her unity with a fresh distinctness both in her own view and before the eyes of the world.

Messianic Prophecies. Lectures by Fransz Delitzsch, Professor of Theology, Leipzig. Translated from the Manuscript by SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. 8vo., pp. 124. [Special edition, imported by Scribner & Welford. New York. Price, $3.]

This tall and thin octavo contains a full report of Delitzsch's extemporaneous lectures to his classes, made by one of his students, and with the learned author's consent translated by Professor Curtiss for the benefit of his pupils in the Chicago Seminary. Though an outline only, they are, of course, sketched by the hand of a master; and though there are some concessions made under pressure of German rationalism which we regret to notice, yet there are choice suggestions scattered all along the pathway; and the very brevity of the outline both brings the whole prophetic structure more clearly within the grasp of the mind, and furnishes a programme for the student's filling out in the prosecution of his studies in this interesting department of biblical theology.

The work is divided into two parts, entitled "The Foundation," and "The History." The Foundation is the peculiar nature of the prophetic office, a unique phenomenon in human history. As God and man are generically one as mind, so God may communicate to man, and of this communication the prophet is a mediator. Even a particular people, as Israel, may be the appointed prophetic mediator for the human race; so that the apparent contradiction of Jehovah being at once God of Israel and yet God of all the earth is solved. In Israel it was the office of prophecy to infuse spirituality into the ritual, and to stand as the inspiring conscience of the people; fulfilling, as John Stuart Mill remarks, the highest duty of the modern periodical press. Delitzsch seems

to recognize that there is a natural "fullness of powers slumbering in the soul," really existing, yet limited by the material inclosure, which form the basis of prophetic action. Hereby we understand the difference between true prophecy and heathen soothsaying. The former is the soul's presentimental power more or less liberated and inspired by divine agency; the latter is the faculty of prevision in specially susceptible persons, roused by artificial means to preternatural and usually delusive excitement. Hence, the latter was marked, externally, by the frenzy of the soothsayers, while in true prophecy the rational powers were in clear and normal action. We doubt, however, whether this absence of ecstasy in true prophecy as a uniform, distinctive characteristic is not overstated by Delitzsch and others.

The history traces, analytically and synthetically, the serial stages of Messianic prophecy through the Old Testament. From the very first promise in Eden of the woman's seed to closing Malachi, there are perpetually occurring bright spots of promise, passages of anticipation of a future blessed time on earth, a future *comer* who is a more than human deliverer, sufferer, teacher, ruler, who is to make all right in the world. Other nations have slight shadows of a similar deliverer, but with Israel it was the dominant Idea. From this Idea it is that Israel drew his earlier and later historic life.

The successive stages through which this Idea is traced (varying from Delitzsch somewhat) are: the pre-Mosaic, the Mosaic, the royal Davidic, the divided kingdom to the exile, the exilic, and post-exilic. During the pre-Mosaic period we have the Edenic promise, the Abrahamic and other theophanies, the blessings of the dying patriarchs, of Isaac upon Jacob, and of Jacob upon Judah. Then came the unparalleled endowment of Moses, sole parallel to the prophetic Christ. Thence Messianic prophecy, though not wholly silent, is not ringingly vocal until David. In Delitzsch's view David supposed himself the Messiah of the promise, until his sad criminalities taught him to look for a better in the future.

But, as above intimated, there are surrenders made by Delitzsch in which we can scarce concur. We do not believe in yielding, contrary to all the authority of the ancient Jewish writers, the application of Shiloh to the personal Messiah. We scarce accept an Isaiah sawn asunder, or the mutilation of a Daniel authenticated by Jesus Christ himself. The defense of the Book of Daniel by Pusey we as yet believe unanswerable.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. Vol. II. The Gospel of John and the Acts. 8vo., pp. 577. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. Price, $6.

This is so rich and stately a volume as to be rather an aristocratic than "popular" production. It is furnished with a large number of authentic, fresh, and graphic illustrations and maps. The authors of the notes on John are, Professor Milligan, of Aberdeen University; and Professor Moulton, of De Lees College, Cambridge; on Acts, Dean Howson and Canon Spence. The Introductions are full; the notes not very copious, but done in the highest style of scholarship.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Chain of Life in Geological Time. A Sketch of the Origin and Succession of Animals and Plants. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D. With numerous Illustrations. 12mo. Pp. 272. London: Religious Tract Society. 1880.

The source whence this volume is issued indicates that it is intended to present such a view of paleontology as might well be taken by the hearty believer in the Bible. It is written in a lucid style, with an effort, tolerably successful, at intelligibility to the popular reader. Yet something of scientific stiffness remains. Nor does Dr. Dawson usually display the *vis vivida* and pictorial power which leads the popular reader onward by its fascination in Professor Winchell's admirable "Sketches of Creation." With its plentiful engravings, and its clear methods, it is, nevertheless, perhaps the best brief work extant for the unscientific reader who desires to obtain a view of the state of the question as it exists at the present hour; a state, however, still liable to be materially varied at any time by advancing investigation.

In nine successive chapters the author discusses the beginnings of life on earth; the age of invertebrates of the sea; the origin of plant life on earth; the appearance of vertebrates; the first air-breathers; the empire of the great reptiles; the first modern forests; the reign of mammals; the advent of man; the review of the history of life.

A survey of the whole course of life shows progress, specific and generic advancements, culminating at last in man. It equally reveals that life had a beginning. There was a practical anterior eternity where no phenomenal life had ever been. We may add that in Hume's sense of the phrase life was "contrary to experi-

ence;" and so its commencement was *miraculous.* Probably the most conclusive argument for genetic derivation of all species is drawn from the fact that we know generation by experience, and so have an experimental solution of the problem of the chain of life through ages. But then we have also virtual experience of a *commencement* of the chain which is original and not genetically *derived.* And if there be one commencement experienced there may be thousands and millions. Mr. Darwin suggests that the Creator may have breathed life into two or three primordial forms; but if he performs such an act once he may do so any number of times. Mr. Darwin herein avows belief both in a Creator, and in that bugbear at which so many scientists turn "doughface"—a "special creation." Now all that Dr. Dawson maintains is the reasonableness of the claim, sustained as it is by stupendous facts, that such repeated creations in series indicating an order of law, have truly taken place. And such he holds is the probable solution of that continuity of typical forms, within due limits of variation, actually visible in the extended chart of life. There is serial derivation, genetic to a wonderful extent, yet subordinate to a great plan of intellective derivations, whose programme exists in the divine Mind.

How truly this derivation may be intellective, rather than genetic, is remarkably illustrated by one peculiar fact. Far back in geologic time, at the very beginning of the age of great reptiles, long before the appearance of the first mammal, we are struck by the apparition of the skeleton of *a human arm.* There it is with the hand and its five digits, presenting that significant peculiarity which distinguishes man from the ape—a thumb opposed to the fingers! It is the unquestionable form, the *idea,* of a human arm. This arm man has inherited; but how? Not generatively, but ideally, through a law, not of matter, but of mind. For this arm belonged to a lizard-like reptile, some three or four feet long, at the beginning of the "reptilian empire," an empire swept away by repeated revolutions since. That arm was lost through geologic ages. By numerous instances of this kind we seem to be cautioned against too confident an assumption, that identity of form demonstrates hereditary derivation.

In point of continuity there is a great difference in species. Some of the humblest forms beginning at the beginning of earthly life, have survived through all the revolutions, and are found unchanged to-day. Other species spring up with higher organization without any apparent predecessors or parents, and

suddenly overspread the geologic world. Their ancestors could not have been destroyed, for their sudden apparition takes place in quiet times. Other species, as the horse, appear through several periods in somewhat varied forms, and present the most favorable aspect for inferring, in their case, genetic derivation. Yet even the supposed ancestors of the horse, so confidently traced by Mr. Huxley, are doubtful. "Gaudry and other orthodox evolutionists in Europe deduce the horse, not from Eohippus, but from the Paleotherium"—a very different pedigree; that is, so questionable is the derivation of the horse from the eohippus, that other scientists than Mr. Huxley reject it, and look for other ancestors for equus. But even admit the Huxleyan equine pedigree, what then? We have simply a case of a species continuing through successive periods under somewhat varying forms. But that is very far short of proving the universality of genetic derivation.

British Thoughts and Thinkers. By GEORGE S. MORRIS. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1880.

Professor Morris' work deals less with British thoughts than with British thinkers, and is mainly biographical. The thinkers selected comprise the early English scholastics, Spenser and Shakespeare of the poets, Hooker of the theologians, and Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Berkely, Hume, Hamilton, Mill, and Spenser of the philosophers. The biographical sketches are very interesting and readable. Professor Morris' involved and Germanized style does not appear in this part so prominently as in his speculative discussions. In the latter we miss completeness of exposition. These essays are said to be "introductory studies;" and yet they are scarcely intelligible except to one already familiar with philosophy. So much is taken for granted, and so much more is stated without proof, that a beginner would find himself at the end of the work with a series of dogmatic statements in his mind, but without any appreciation of their ground or of the problems to which they relate. This is always the result when the history of philosophy is studied as an introduction to philosophy. The procedure is as inverted and confusing as it would be to begin a course in mathematics by a history of mathematics. We agree entirely with Professor Morris' conclusions and principles, and are sure that he could give the reasons which are lacking; but his unfortunate method has produced a work which, while valuable for the initiated, would be very unsatisfactory for beginners.

One must know what the problems are before their history can have any value. Of course the biographical part is intelligible on its own account.

Christian Sociology. By J. H. W. Stuckenberg, Professor in the Theological Department of Wittenberg College. New York: I. K. Funk & Co. 1880.

The author believes that Christianity is not meant for the individual alone, but for society also. He holds, therefore, that Christianity contains implicitly a theory of society and laws for its government. To illustrate this thought is the aim of this book. Without doubt the conceptions of Christianity current among English and American Christians are too individualistic and atomistic; and its social significance is overlooked. The author has done well in calling attention to this fact, and to the need of a larger and more organic view. We can hardly estimate his claims to be a pioneer in this realm as highly as the author himself; for we see no essential difference between his aim and that of Christian ethics, except that the latter is the more comprehensive. The author aims to deduce social duties from the standpoint of Christian life and doctrine, while Christian ethics aim to deduce the law of the entire life from the same source. The work might also be called somewhat rambling in plan and execution. Nevertheless, it is genial and suggestive, and very well worth reading. It is all the more valuable to the American ministry because of our grievous errors on the side of an exclusive individualism.

History, Biography, and Topography.

A Year of Wreck. A True Story. By A Victim. 12mo., pp. 472. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This book is a narrative of facts, yet it is as fascinating as a work of fiction. It is a story of Mississippi cotton planting by two Northern gentlemen, a druggist and a physician, who, charmed by the fortune on paper which their figures most convincingly assured them, emigrated thither in 1866, in the days when Andrew Johnson occupied the presidential chair. The promised short road to wealth was very alluring, but the expected nine hundred bales dwindled in the outcome to sixty-five, and the figured income of a hundred and eight thousand to six thousand five hundred. It was, indeed, "a year of wreck." Numbers emigrated southward at the close of the war, and after a like experience returned to

the North. Our author intimates that the philosophy of the general wreckage is the same. If so, their failure is not to be wondered at. It would seem that any average business man would, before investing, take certain precautions, make certain inquiries, and ascertain certain particulars and facts; but the principle of leaping before looking is the chief one of this year's work. As a picture of Southern life, in 1866, the book is worth reading. It shows us both white and black, the latter just emancipated, and with all the habits and vices engendered by the slave system, and the former expecting to recover through Andy Johnson all they had lost by the war. The then existing intense hate and persecution of Northern men appear in the narrative.

A supplementary chapter shows our planters in 1880 in high prosperity, and attests a great change in many respects among the people of the South. Free negro labor is a success. Manufactories are springing up, and railroads are in construction; business methods are improving; and the South is gaining in many important respects. We rejoice in this prosperity, in the full belief that that section may become the garden of the country. But it must be by education—compulsory education for black and white—industry, temperance, and freedom of speech and vote, and an unfettered and correctly-counted ballot. The great need of the South to-day is emancipation from its "mischievous boys," its bull-dozers and tissue ballots, and its barbarian crowd of ignorant, whiskey-drinking ruffians. When the good and true men of that section shall assert themselves, as they can and ought, we verily believe the South will enter upon a career of prosperity as yet unknown. Its political intolerance, now its ineffable disgrace, will then be likely to disappear, and a firm hand will maintain the equal rights of all men before the law. W.

A History of Christian Doctrines. By the late Dr. K. R. Hagenbach. With an Introduction by E. H. Plumptre, D.D. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 438. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. [Scribner & Welford's imported edition. Price $3.]

This is a new translation from the author's fifth and last edition. The present volume covers his first two periods of Christian doctrine; namely, Period First, extending from A.D. 70 to A.D. 311, by him entitled "The Age of Apologetics;" and Period Second, extending to A.D. 730, "The Age of Polemics." We need not again commend this standard work. The present volume is especially valuable as giving us the earliest phenomena of Christian defense and Christian doctrine.

Old Times in the Colonies. By CHARLES CARLTON COFFIN, author of "The Boys of '76," "The Story of Liberty," etc. Illustrated. 8vo., tinted paper, cloth and gilt. Pp. 460. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Mr. Coffin's book essays to shed a fresh interest upon those beginnings of our continental existence which our historians have generally found unattractive ground for the general reader. He dedicates his work to the "boys and girls of America," and aims to suit their taste by a popular, sketchy, colloquial, and sometimes incoherent and slightly ungrammatical style, aided by a rich abundance of illustrative cuts. The history and the cuts contrive to present a rich variety of events, characters, and scenes, extending from the seas and seals of our arctic to the palms on the banks of the St. John's and the exuberant foliage of Florida. The lessons of enterprise, freedom, and religion involved in the history are faithfully presented. It is a very acceptable present to the "boys and girls," young and old.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. Family Edition. With a complete Index of the whole Work. Abridged and Edited by JAMES A. DEAN, D.D. In two volumes, 12mo. Vol. I., pp. 570. New York: Published for the Editor by Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

Dr. Dean has here endeavored to furnish a Gibbon free from the prolixity, skepticism, and pruriencies of the original work. He aims to give it a fullness sufficient to furnish an ample survey of the course of the history without making it too ponderous for the general reader. He appears to have executed the work with judgment and skill, and the popular reader may assume that he takes in hand an unobjectionable and attractive Gibbon.

Literature and Fiction.

Studies of the Greek Poets. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, author of "Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe," etc. Two vols., small 12mo., pp. 488, 419. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mr. Symonds has splendid qualifications for giving us unsurpassable dissertations on Greek poetry. He is an elegant pagan. He is an idolater of ideal beauty. He has ranged through the elegant literature of various languages, and the Greek appears to be his specialty. He has a rich appreciation of that wonderful development of genius, which awakened without a parallel in previous human history in the little spot of Greece, speaking such thoughts of beauty and wisdom in the most wonderful of human languages, as to render Greece the esthetic teacher of the

most cultured peoples of the world through subsequent ages. His volumes present us a series of disquisitions, exhibiting a rich mastery of the subject in a style of great brilliancy. By a most wonderful reversal of the laws of gradual development, Greek poetry opens with a morning brighter than midnoon in the poems of Homer. Then comes the drama, truly beginning with the sublimest genius of classic antiquity, Æschylus, in equal defiance of developmental themes. Meanwhile the lyric poets are flinging up their witching strains; and then after Euripides, Greek poetry draws out her long anti-climax in almost uninterrupted deterioration.

When we said Mr. Symonds was a pagan, understand us not as intimating that he is a literal worshiper of any thing. His Agnosticism hangs like a gloom over his volumes, as the sense of coming nothingness hung over the thought and productions of some of the best minds of Greek antiquity. His sole remedy for the darkness of pessimism which godlessness lets in upon the soul is that which he recognizes as accepted by the best Greek mind —a desperate but resolutely cheerful manliness.

Miscellaneous Works of Lord Macaulay. Edited by his Sister, LADY TREVELYAN. In five volumes, 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 628; Vol. II, pp. 654; Vol. III, pp. 670; Vol. IV, pp. 669; Vol. V, pp. 570. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This magnificent set of volumes, neatly boxed, is another of those literary presents to the scholar's and gentleman's library with which the Harper press has been so prolific. We need not say that Macaulay is supremely a *classic* in English literature, and that these essays, with the closing volume of parliamentary speeches, stand without a rival in their class. As to the supposed *dogmatism* pervading Macaulay's writings, which prompted the keen *bonmot* of Lord Melbourne, "I would be glad to be as sure of any thing as Macaulay is of every thing," we may say that we prefer the positiveness of Macaulay to the slack Pyrrhonism of Melbourne. Give us the man of positive conviction and explicit expression.

Periodicals.

The President's Message.

President Hayes closes his series of annual messages in a justly cheerful, if not triumphant, tone. His candid opposers admit that no purer administration has ever honored our national history. As to the charge of *fraud* in his election the question may

be fairly raised whether the apparent popular majority of his opponent was not truly *the* fraud. After passion has subsided, calm history may decide that had there been what General Hancock so neatly calls "a free ballot and a fair count," Mr. Hayes was the real choice of a majority of the legal voters of our country. General Garfield, if duly counted in as well as elected, will be, we trust, not a partisan but a patriotic President. He was in full sympathy with the conciliatory policy by which Mr. Hayes for a while endeavored to unite the heart of the nation. He, indeed, then declared that the time for a sectional platform was past; little anticipating that he would be forced by the South herself to be elected on a necessary antithetical sectional platform to save the country from being seized by a Southern sectional *coup d'état.* We doubt not that under President Garfield's administration a practicable civil service reform, advocated, indeed, by the best men of both parties, will complete a work which Mr. Hayes has, with all the efficiency in his day possible, successfully begun. This reform will expel from our politics a large share of the selfish violence arising from the array of two stupendous armies of office-holders and office-seekers against each other, and thereby diminish the danger of our national elections.

It was by two concurrent causes that Mr. Garfield's election was gained, namely, the *solid South* and *the business interests.* Both these causes were well stated by a Southern Democratic business man, (of course not by a Southern politician,)* Dr. Si-

* How some Southern politicians deliver themselves may appear from the following extract from the "Solid South," recently established in Memphis, and it may be Memphis' response to the sympathies she received from the North in her late distress:

The Democratic masses in both the confederate and federal sections of these virtually dis-United States are sick, *sick*, SICK of the putrid, peccant, and pusillanimous marches, counter-marches and surrenders that have characterized the pestilent policy of the cowardly and crawl-about conservatives in our party household since the surrender. The shams, sneakbys, and snakes-in-the-grass who have only too frequently exercised a controlling influence in making our party platforms, nominating our party tickets, and managing our party campaign since the dastardly and departure of 1871, have deserted the last living, breathing, throbbing principle of Democracy, and are moving heaven, earth, and the other place to make the world believe they are better radicals than the radicals themselves. . . . They think that they can thus befool and bejuggle the bloody-shirters of blue-bellydom into the fond belief that we are a reconstructed people, when the fact is that we are not reconstructed; when the fact is that we hate a Union that is cemented by the blood of our fellow-partisans; when the fact is that we loathe the star-spangled rag that reminds us of the crimes of our conquerors; when the fact is that we are upon federal legislation that seeks to limits the powers and prerogatives of our sovereign Commonwealths.

In presenting the initial issue of the "Solid South" to the public we want it to

monds, president of a Charleston bank. He said just after the election:

A few days before the election a gentleman came into my office and began talking about the State of South Carolina consols. He said that he was satisfied that if Hancock was elected the bonds would appreciate, and if Garfield was elected they would depreciate in value. I told him then that my opinions were *just the reverse*, and that I believed that if Garfield was elected *our securities would be improved*. To-day he called to see me again, and said: "You were right; South Carolina bonds have gone up from one to one and a half per centum, and there is an increased demand for them from the North." He asked me to give him my opinion as to the reason for this, and I told him that it was because *Garfield was the candidate of the great party which represented the wealth and intelligence of the North*, which was opposed to every thing that smacked of repudiation, and the reflection of that policy upon the South would strengthen the opposition to repudiation in the Southern States. Of course it is not Garfield himself, but it is the party he represents, that has this influence. I think that the policy of the incoming administration toward the South will necessarily be to *develop all her resources*. The South is the best customer the North has, and the people of the North have too much intelligence to do any thing to cripple us. But as the result of the election has shown, *they are equally determined that we shall not rule them*. It was, in my opinion, the conviction that the Solid South and the success of the Democratic party would destroy them that made the people of the North so solid against us. The very men who gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to insure the success of the Republican party are the very men who will throw their whole influence to prevent any action on the part of the government which would injure the South. It is to *their interest* that they should see us a prosperous people. The South cannot afford to remain solid any longer. They have made nothing by it, and the varied interests of the States is bound to create a division in sentiment. I have not the slightest idea that the Republican party will lend its power to uphold governments in the Southern States which would be detrimental to the interests of the South. But of one thing I am sure, and that is that they will fight for fair and free elections; and the sooner this state of things is reached the better it will be for us. For instance, I don't think that it would be to the benefit of this bank that one of my tellers should cheat my customers out of money that goes into the vaults of the bank. It would be all very well for a while, but it would ruin the bank in the long run. I am associated in business with both Republicans and Democrats at the North, and I find no difference between them upon the great financial interests of the country. When people talk about Garfield ruining the South, the simple question is, whether he

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derstood that we wash white our hands of the doings and misdoings of the conservative tricksters, toad-eaters, and thimble-riggers in our party ranks. They may crawl on their bellies and lick the bare feet of their Yankee masters, but we will defy the devil dogs of Puritan power, and tell them to their teeth that they can never ram their black, besotted, and beastly heresies down our throats or down the throats of the Democratic masses. . . . We will speak our sentiments in words as hot and hard as musket balls on the wing; we will champion State sovereignty—including the incidents of secession and nullification; we will favor the repeal of all the legislation that the radical party has spewed upon the statute books; we will advocate free trade; we will oppose national banks, ship bounties, railroad subsidies, and every thing that has the smack and flavor of a moneyed monopoly. In brief, we propose to publish a paper that will commend itself to the Democratic masses by . . . its defiant devotion to the prerogatives and principles that thundered from the guns, pealed from trumpets, and hung like a glory over the battle banner of the confederate cause.

We trust that such drunken ravings will exert by reaction the same effect on sensible Southern people that the similar ravings of the drunken Helots did upon the young Spartans—that of making them sober.

will paralyze the material interests of the South because of its solid opposition to him. He is a man of too much sense, and he is the representative of a party that depends too largely upon the South for its business prosperity, to commit any such suicidal act. Every thing points to a continuance of prosperity. It cannot be otherwise. The country can't help prospering.—*Charleston* (S. C.) *News and Courier.*

The adoption and announcement by the Southern leaders of a bold plan, by a concentrated spring, to pounce upon the government of the country, was a specific act at a certain date, taking the country unawares. We well remember the earnest note of remonstrance and warning of Dr. Fuller, of the "Atlanta Advocate," when the ominous phrase "a Solid South" first broke upon the public ear. He foretold to the South with the clearness of prophecy the disaster that would follow that fatal aggression. There was no call, and no excuse, for this solidification. President Hayes had done his best for the obliteration of sectional political lines. Had the Southern leaders, like patriotic statesmen, been content with their fair share in the government of the country, the antithesis of North and South would have soon become as little significant as the antithesis of East and West, which is just what should be. But Dr. Simonds most truly said of Northern voters "they are determined that we shall not rule them." The South had Congress; they must also have the Executive and the Supreme Court. Now, had the relations of South to North been as harmonious as those of West to East, such a concurrence would have been no way alarming. A spontaneous preponderance of the West would waken no revolt in the East. But here it is not spontaneous; it is a complotment for the very purpose of a sectional supremacy. Nor was this sectionalism at all diminished by their selecting a Northern candidate for the presidency. The North very well knew that to elect General Hancock, whatever his personal excellences, was to elect the "Solid South" in supremacy over us; a supremacy not the less objectionable because she thereby rules us through a Northern proconsul. In all the qualifications for governing the whole nation every candid Southerner will admit the South is illy equipped. In population, in wealth, in intelligence, in enterprise, in political wisdom, in all the elements that constitute prosperity and national greatness, she is in a sad minority.

This unpreparedness for rule is especially emphasized by the second decisive cause of General Hancock's defeat—the business interests of the country, not only North, but, as President Simonds indicates, as truly at the South. When Democracy apparently won in Maine, business confidence perceptibly fell; when it was

defeated in Indiana, it rose, and the pulse beat alike in North and South; and not with the city millionaires alone, but with the humblest dealers in all the sections of the country. It was the secret consciousness of the whole people that the rule of the Democratic leaders would be a rule of recklessness. The result of their rule in the South is slight encouragement for other sections to accept its blessings.

For "The future policy of the South" in view of her defeat we will quote another Southern authority, this time a politician of the extremest school, editor of the "Savannah News." He thinks that in spite of the fact that the South showed her non-sectionalism by nominating a northern Union General for President, and that "she has striven to secure the blessings [?] of honest, impartial, Democratic government to the whole country," yet "the more embittered has become the majority of the voters of the North against her." "The sentiment . . . that the wealthy and intelligent North should control the poverty-stricken South has been generally accepted." He infers, truly, that "so long as the South remains under the ban of poverty," [and he should have added, under that thriftlessness and disorder that made her "poverty,"] and in the "minority," she will be overruled; and he should have added *ought to be.* What right has a "minority," "poverty-stricken" through improvidence, to claim rule over enterprise, intelligence, wealth, and majority? That majority, most rightly, does not desire to be ruled by the statesmanship that has secured itself a minority by its intolerance of immigration, and brought on its "poverty" by recklessness. He proceeds to enumerate most eloquently and truly the unlimited resources of the South for wealth, omitting to tell us why these resources have for centuries been allowed to lie idle; and he concludes with one stroke of wisdom, namely, that the duty of the South is to go to work and "get rich." But this getting "rich" is to be done in the most exclusive way. Yet an ideal Chinese wall must still divide the South even in business from the North. We, the South, must get rich all alone; and by "ourselves;" "wrapt in the solitude of our own originality." Contrast these narrow utterances with the broad commercialism of President Simonds, and note the difference between a statesman and a—courtesy forbids our saying what.

"Get rich," that is the true maxim. In the name of all that is pure and peaceable let the South "get rich." So say we all; for wealth is not only a great element of national prosperity and power, but its acquirement, in the general, presupposes those qualities of peace,

order, industry, enterprise, and broad commercial liberality, which constitute character. In the process of getting "rich" the South would necessarily put off those habits which have made her poor and isolated, and would put on those qualities which would render her homogeneous with the North, and in that process sectionalism would disappear. President Simonds would calmly assure the editor that the commercial spirit regards the prosperity of each section as most desirable to the other, and just as fast as that spirit grows in the South, his sectional mad-dog virus would dry up. We, therefore, second the editor's motion, let the South "get rich." Her political demagogues would then grow sober, her political trouble would cease, and she would become a much more comfortable neighbor to her sister sections.

On the other hand, there is one point which the North, and all parties, are bound, calmly and candidly, to consider—the Negro problem. Underlying all the political violences and frauds in the South is the genuine grievance of "negro predominance." If the South is unfit to govern the country, is the negro, by race or education, fit to govern the South? There are Counties and States where the negroes are a strong majority; must the majority not only be enfranchised voters but also installed rulers? Here is the pinch. It may be easy for a Massachusetts Republican to say, Let the majority in South Carolina rule; but would he be willing, under that maxim, to enthrone a negro upper crust over Massachusetts? When a Northern Republican goes into a Southern Republican political meeting, say in Florida, what does he see? A crowd of black humanity with a few white leaders as their officers and spokesmen. Can he wonder that the proud white community look upon those leaders as aiming to overslaugh them with a servile domination? A very intense philanthropist or a northern Stalwart, fit counterpart to the southern Bourbon, may say, Let absolute right prevail; but most practical men will say that this is no case for absolute extremes. It is laying a most crushing weight upon the Southern negro to base the structure of a great national party upon him. He is unequal to the mission, and there is reason to believe that laws and penalties laid upon his opponents will fail to give him solidity. We acknowledge that the South is largely responsible for the severe conditions of this problem. The national administration, before enfranchising the negro, did offer her a constitutional amendment by which every State should have a representation in the national government proportioned to its number of voters, thereby leav-

ing the white South supreme in each State, with an inducement to enfranchise the negro just as fast as the white South could prepare him for safe citizenship. This most fair and equitable arrangement, which would have harmonized the elements, leaving the whole control in the hands of the more civilized South, was promptly *by the South rejected.* So that for the present sad condition of things the South herself is largely responsible. Rejecting a legal and constitutional arrangement of interests, she has chosen to right matters by unconstitutional repressive and fraudulent methods; methods that barbarize her population, unsettle her society, and drive out immigration and capital from her borders. But the past cannot be recalled, and the candid inquiry remains: What remedy for the present and future?

We claim no extra wisdom on this subject, but we imagine that, concurrently with the process of getting rich, the white Southerners have in their hands two or three peaceful and natural remedies. The first is *immigration.* Let the South organize a system for calling in a Northern and European population, as well as invite Northern capital. Both have tried to go in, and have been repelled both by Southern purpose and by the apparent unquietness of Southern society. This immigration would reduce the colored majorities, and tend to so divide the negro vote that no man would be elected because he is a negro, but because, though a negro, he has the highest qualifications. The South, in solidifying herself on the sectional line, perpetuates the color line, and prompts the aspiration of the colored majorities to rule by the color line. Let the South divide on special questions, and the negro vote will be divided, and the danger of negro domination be diminished. The second is *education*, for both races, by national aid. The intellectual culture line will thus be in time greatly obliterated, rendering more easy a forgetfulness of the color line in public matters. The third, *emigration.* Even the late "exodus," attended though it has been by charges of oppression on one side, and of political colonization on the other, has had its benefits.*

* The leading paper of our colored people, the Philadelphia "Christian Recorder" speaks thus of this "exodus:" "That it will continue we have no doubt. And that it ought to continue we are of the same mind. There are altogether too many of us at the South. Labor is too plentiful. Capital too domineering. Scattering should be the word. Not to Kansas alone, but all over the North, save the great cities. Agricultural in their capacities, let our brethren seek the farming regions of the great North and the greater West, and all will be well.

American Colonization Society be aided in her work of beneficence alike for America and Africa? Or can there not be a "reservation" for our African as well as for our Indian people, where a new State may be organized of colored population?

But the above invitation to immigration must forego all inquisition into the religious or political opinions of the immigrant. How incapable the extreme Southern Democrat at present is of such tolerance, how little he yet knows what such tolerance is, is illustrated by a Florida paper lying before us. The editor is zealous for immigration; he repels indignantly the imputation that he is not a perfectly liberal advocate for a perfectly free incoming population. But then the incomer must not be a "carpet-bagger;" reserving to himself, of course, to decide what the very expansible term, "carpet-bagger," shall include; he must not encourage negroes to vote "against us;" that is, he must not be a Republican leader where the voters are colored men; and he predicts, since the last election, that in a brief period all the radical leaders in Florida will leave the State. Banishment of political opponents from the State is thus his ready thought. Not long since he advised Mr. Bisbee to leave the State; said Bisbee's only crime being, we believe, that he was elected to Congress from an eastern district of Florida, and deprived of his seat by a Democratic governor and a Democratic Congress. Now this editor intends to be, thinks he is, and on most points doubtless is, a truly liberal gentleman. Yet take the sum total of his utterances, and they amount to about the claim that every active Republican ought to be banished from Florida. He seems to imagine that he and his associate thinkers have the right to prescribe the terms of admission into Florida; and to dictate exclusion from the State even to those who are already in it, unless they fulfill the conditions. He forgets that by the American Constitution, *The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.* He and his extreme brethren have yet to learn, that as a Floridian has the same rights in New York as a New Yorker, so the New Yorker has the same rights in Florida as a Floridian. And we may add, that as this editor complains very bitterly of the injury done to Florida by radical slanders, so we can assure him that no slander is so injurious to Florida as the political intolerance of which he is so unconscious, yet so genuine, a specimen. The fact is, that slavery has so ingrained political proscription into the Southern mind, that the true Bourbon but slowly learns what tolerance is. A Northern man never imagines that he has

a right, beyond the statutory provisions, to say who may or may not come into the State. But the Southern Bourbon imagines that it is his right to sit imperially, and admit just the man he pleases to certificate. At present his permit allows all Democrats, and also all Republicans who consent to disfranchise themselves of their rights of free action in politics. We are glad to say that there is less of this proscriptiveness in Florida than elsewhere; especially in eastern Florida, where an annual rush of Northern visitors, three fourths of whom are doubtless Republican, brings a volume of greenbacks and bank checks, that are acceptable even to a Democratic pocket, and soothing to the paroxysms of the most frantic Bourbon. We said once to a typical Floridian, boasting of the glorious future of Florida, "But all that arises from the abolition of slavery." "That is so," replied he. "But you sustained slavery." "Yes, I was as big a fool as any of 'em."

It would be a dishonor, at the present time, for any evangelical Church to be outdone by the commercial interests in the work of peace. There is no moral or religious excuse at the present hour for churchly cherishing of the spirit of sectional strife. The religious and the commercial community should harmonize in opposition to the war of the politicians. The time should be hastened when it would be a matter of as much indifference whether North or South has a spontaneous preponderance as East or West. The cordial spirit of our late General Conference, we believe, convinced our many Southern visitors that we are sincere in our aspirations for Christian and national harmony. In this spirit we united, North and South, in heartily urging the ecumenical movement for a union of all the Methodisms of the world. On that movement we believe the divine blessing rests; and we hail it as not only tightening the cords of our national Union, but as increasing the ties that bind the world together in the bonds of truth and peace.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Darwinis chen Theorien und ihre Stellung zur Philosophie, Religion, und Moral Von Rud. Schmid. Stuttgart, 1878: Moser.

The Darwinian excitement is beyond its crisis. The heads on both sides are become much cooler. It is begun to be felt that it is very unwise for scientists to theologize so hastily from such

hypothetical premises, and equally unwise for theologians to be so overzealous in steadying the "ark" before it is in any real danger. Schmid's book (pp. 426) is very cool, and clear, and Christian. It gives, first, a candid statement of the various Darwinian and Darwinistic theories; then it considers the bearing of these theories on the many questions of philosophy, ethics, and religion. The style is pleasing, the temper admirable, the results pacifying. What if some of the main points of Darwinism were true? Christianity would remain undisturbed. But they are not yet proved. Conclusion: Let physics continue on, undisturbed, its valuable investigations in one sphere of truth; let theology still work on, unjealously, in its grand sphere of ALL truth. The points at which Darwinistic specialists have violated the laws of true science are: 1. They have indulged too much in hypotheses, and ignored the laws of logic. Their conclusions are largely colored with enthusiasm and imagination. 2. They exaggerate the influence of *selection*. The influence of climate and of other physical conditions are more potent than that of selection: instead of coming to the aid of selection they generally tend to counteract it. Sexual selection is not mainly governed by beauty and force. It is largely influenced by the law of opposites, the one party instinctively mating with another whose advantages contrast with his defects, or conversely—which tends on the whole not to the improvement of the race, but simply to the conservation of the original type. 3. They exaggerate the influence of heredity. When heredity is not artificially directed, it tends rather to the degeneration of the species than to the survival of the fittest. Very marked traits are observed to appear utterly unexpectedly, and then suddenly to vanish for a generation or a whole epoch. The noblest qualities are the lot of the fewest individuals, and are not generally transmitted. It is not infrequent that an ideally beautiful individual springs from uncomely parents, and the converse. 5. They press unwarrantably the analogy between *artificial* and *natural* selection. The finest products of artificial selection are, in a certain degree, abnormal and monstrous. They serve only the special purpose of the artful producer; they do not profit the individual produced. The "improved" kinds of animals, birds, and plants are uniformly less hardy and less capable of self-assertion than were the "common" individuals from which they sprang. So soon as left to themselves, they speedily revert to the common type, or become extinct. Which proves that artificial selection is limited in its effects to mere individuals,

but does not affect or in any way benefit the race. 5. The most serious error of the Darwinists is their obscuring of the *idea of species*. This is a matter of radical importance; for this idea is the pole-star of natural science. An essential element in the notion of species is that of *filiation*. This they generally ignore. And their indistinct idea of species leads to equally obscure notions of race and variety. They perpetually confound *species*, *races*, and *varieties*. And this vagueness leads them to overlook the radical difference between *hybridization* and *metissage*. The *hybrid* comes from the crossing of different species; the *metif* from the crossing of races or varieties of the *same* species. Now the former can be effected only with the utmost difficulty, and the individuals resulting are uniformly feeble, and usually sterile. In any case, they speedily perish, *or* revert to the type of a single one of their producing species. They never permanently retain the traits of both. On the contrary, the *metif* is produced spontaneously without the least artificial constraint. And it has no defect of vigor or of reproductive power. Here there is no violation of the integrity of the species; the races or varieties uniting are of the *same* species. 6. There is, therefore, no warrant whatever for the immense Darwinistic inference of a *transformation of species*. It is utterly contradicted by the only two things which could prove it: the results of experiments, and the historical evidence of the geological records. The records of the rocks show not transformation, but only permanent persistence of type. And when refuge is taken to imaginary millions of ages, the well ascertained laws of physics and chemistry put in their *caveat:* such fabulous millions of millions of years have *not* existed. The remains of species found in the most remote geological ages are like those of species now existing, and all the artificial variations which man has been able to effect are but as a momentary ripple on a narrow surface; they soon disappear, and the great level stream of the species moves on as from of old.

Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses. Publiée Sous la Direction de F. Lichtenberger, Doyen de la Faculté de Theologie Protestente de Paris. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher.

The four stout volumes which have already appeared of this master-work of French Protestant erudition fully meet the high expectations awakened by the prospectus of the work in 1877. It is to embrace the whole scope of subjects falling under the head of "religious sciences." Each article of importance is the produc-

tion of a recognized expert on the subject discussed. The spirit of the whole is purely scientific. The tone of the work is evangelically catholic. Contributors to the work are eminent men from all folds of the Church. M. Lichtenberger, the editor-in-chief, is a fine representative of French orthodoxy, and enjoys the esteem and confidence of all the Churches. He exercises the right of striking out from the articles of his contributors every thing of a polemical or otherwise offensive character. . . . Each subject is, therefore, presented simply on its own footing; and the whole work bears largely the character of compact scientific summary or of direct historical statement. From a careful examination of a wide range of test articles, we are highly pleased with the tone of the work. We mention a few points. The work is *not* Calvinistic. Nor is it sacramentarian; the Anglican ritualist will find in it no crumb of comfort. It is just to Arminianism, and to all schools of Methodism. And in general its treatment of the history of every evangelical sect is candid and sympathetic. As a whole the work ought to find its way to all our college and theological libraries. And we cordially advise all preachers who read French to procure it for their personal enjoyment. It is a pleasure to read it. When we take down our "Herzog" we expect a little tug of war, and a positive exertion of attention intermingled with an occasional yawn. But our "Lichtenberger" is an esthetic delight; it keeps us awake even of a hot summer afternoon. The work is finely printed, and, we may add, cheaply. It appears in installments of 160 octavo pages, at seventy cents per part. The whole work is to consist of twelve volumes of 800 pages each, every five installments making a volume. It can be had by mail, or through any foreign bookseller. We close by citing a passage of statistics from an article on Egypt. It is by E. Vaucher: "The wars of 1874–75 nearly trebled the dominions of the Khedive. He now rules over at least 17,000,000 souls. Among his new subjects there are 1,000,000 Nubians, 5,000,000 Ethopians, and nearly 6,000,000 of Africans, (in his southern borders.) To Egypt proper the official census gives 5,252,000. The religion of the vast majority of the whole population is that of Islam. But contact with Christian nations has rendered Islamism more tolerant here than in any other country. The venerable Christian community of the Copts have asserted their existence without interruption for eleven centuries of Mohammedan subjugation. In the eighth century they numbered some 600,000 communicants; they still number about 200,000. The head of their hierarchy is a patriarch. The Khedive invests him with his office after his con-

secration. But this is a mere formality, paid for by a compliment in money. Under the patriarch there are at present twelve bishops.

The other orders of the priesthood are arch-priests, priests, deacons, and readers. The monastic life is largely prevalent, there being among them at least threescore of convents. The other Christians of Egypt number some 80,000. They are mostly foreigners. The Roman Church has long tried in vain to win the Copts into submission to the Pope. There is a bishop at Cairo, with some score of missionary outposts. The whole Catholic population numbers 40,000. Of these some 10,000 are Copts. The original Catholic Church of Egypt, the Orthodox Greek, still numbers some 35,000 souls. Of Protestants of all denominations the number is certainly below 10,000. Few countries have proved more unfruitful as missionary ground. The hope once entertained of reviving the spirituality of the Copts is not likely to be realized. The Missionary Society of Basle made extensive efforts between 1861 and 1872. Their unsuccess seems to have discouraged them. As yet, therefore, it must be confessed, a solid, reliable nucleus of a Protestant Church in Egypt has not been formed."

Miscellaneous.

Analysis and Formation of Latin Words. With Table for Analysis, List of Books, etc. By FRANK SMALLEY, A.M. 12mo. Pp. 87. Syracuse, N. Y.: John T. Roberts, 1879.

Our Syracuse Latin professor has here furnished a unique class-book, original, we believe, in its character, and arising from the needs of his pupils. It consists of a presentation of the principles, with exercises, of verbal analysis by distinguishing the roots and tracing the modifications through which they pass in the formation of words. A number of ruled blank pages are added for the student's practice. This is one of the results of comparative philology, by which new interest is given to the study of language and new benefits attained in its acquirement.

Sabbath Home Readings. A Series of Meditations for the Lord's Day; Upon Vital Themes of Spiritual Thought, Experience, and Duty. By J. W. CORNELIUS. 12mo., pp. 582. Baltimore: D. H. Carroll. 1879.

The writer informs us that his volume is prepared for those who look in vain for just the right book for Sunday reading. He has no conception that the Sunday newspaper satisfies all demands. His plan is to furnish a consecutive series of reading for every Sunday in the year. These are written in a pure style, a devout

and reflective spirit, with a due depth of both Christian doctrine and Christian experience. It is very admirable for consecrating the Sabbath to the work of growing in Christian life.

Pastoral Days; or, Memories of a New England Year. By W. Hamilton Gibson. Illustrated. 8vo., gilt. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

This is a book of beauty, an annual for this or any other year. Mr. Gibson's descriptions of the New England season are written in the style of a most minute observer and graphic delineator of nature; and the illustrations, designed by his own hand, are singularly delicate and truthful.

Conquests by the Sea. Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Paper covers, 8vo., pp. 48. Published by order of the Association, Ocean Grove, N. J. 1880.

A very interesting survey of one of the most successful efforts to raise a Christian community by the sea-side.

The Standard Series. 4to., paper. *Pulpit Table-Talk.* By Edward B. Ramsay, LL.D. *The Bible and the Newspaper.* By Charles H. Spurgeon. *Lacon;* or, *Many Things in Few Words.* Addressed to Those who Think. By Rev. C. C Colton, A.M. New York: I. K. Funk & Co.

History of the English People. By John Richard Green, M.A. Vol. IV. The Revolution, 1683–1760. Modern England, 1760–1815. 8vo., pp. 519. New York: Harper & Brothers.

History of Our Own Times. From the accession of Queen Victoria to the General Election of 1880. By Justin M'Carthy. Vol. II. Small 8vo., pp. 682. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1880. With an Appendix. Edited by Bishop Harris. 32mo., pp. 460. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail. By A. A. Hayes, Jun., A. M. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Duty, with Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance. By Samuel Smiles, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 412. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1881. Paper covers, 12mo., pp. 144. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1878. 8vo., pp. 730. Washington: Government Printing-office. 1880.

The Phæacians of Homer. The Phæacian Episode of the Odyssey, as comprised in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth Books. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendix. By Augustus C. Merriam, Ph.D. Illustrated, 12mo., pp. 286. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

English Men of Letters. Edited by John Morley. *John Locke,* by Thomas Fowler. 12mo., pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Class-Meeting. In Twenty Short Chapters. By O. P. Fitzgerald, D.D. 16mo., pp. 104. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing House. 1880.

American Manual of Parliamentary Law; or, The Common Law of Deliberative Assemblies. Systematically arranged for the Use of the Parliamentarian and the Novice. By George T. Fish. 16mo., pp. 140. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Genesis I–II: An Essay on the Bible Narrative of Creation. By Augustus R. Grote, A.M. 12mo., paper. Pp. 82. New York: Asa K. Butts. 1880.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. 4to., paper: *The Life of James A. Garfield.* By EDMUND KIRKE. Pp. 64. Three volumes of the English Men of Letters. Edited by John Morley: 1. *Robert Burns.* By PRINCIPAL SHAIRP. 2. *Oliver Goldsmith.* By WILLIAM BLACK. 3. *John Bunyan.* By JAMES FROUDE. Pp. 81. Three volumes of the English Men of Letters: 1. *Samuel Johnson.* By LESLIE STEPHEN. 2. *Sir Walter Scott.* By RICHARD H. HUTTON. 3. *William M. Thackeray.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Pp. 88. *The Early History of Charles James Fox.* By GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M.P. Pp. 84. *A Sailor's Sweetheart,* etc. By W. CLARK RUSSELL. Pp. 81. *Three Recruits, and the Girls They Left Behind Them.* By JOSEPH HATTON. Pp. 58. *Horace M'Lean: A Story of a Search in a Strange Place.* By ALICE O'HANLON. Pp. 66. *From the Wings.* By B. H. BUXTON. Pp. 52. *He That Will Not When He May.* By MRS. OLIPHANT. Pp. 86. *Ecdymion.* By the RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI. Pp. 84. *Duty, with Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance.* By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. Pp. 68. New York: Harper & Brothers.

HARPER'S HALF-HOUR SERIES. 32mo, paper. *Life Sketches of Macaulay.* By CHARLES ADAMS, D.D. Pp. 140. *A Primer of French Literature* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Pp. 216. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Western Farmer of America. By AUGUSTUS MONGREDIEN. In paper., 12mo. Pp. 30. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London, Paris, and New York.

Shakspeare's Tragedy of King Lear. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. With Engravings. 16mo., pp. 267. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Good Government. Appeal of Peter Cooper, now in the 91st Year of his Age, to all Legislators, Editors, Religious Teachers, and Lovers of Our Country. By PETER COOPER. Paper covers. 8vo., pp. 48. New York: J. J. Little & Co., Printers. 1880.

Higher Education of Medical Men, and its Influence on the Profession and the Public. Being the Address delivered before the American Academy of Medicine, at its Fifth Annual Meeting. By F. D. LENTE, A.M., M.D. Paper. 8vo., pp. 16. New York: Charles L. Bermingham & Co. 1880.

The American Conflict. A Household Story. By MARY S. ROBINSON. Three Volumes. 16mo. Illustrated. Vol. I, pp. 273; Vol. II, pp. 291; Vol. III, pp. 194. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

The Early History of Charles James Fox. By GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M.P. 8vo., pp. 470. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Senior Lesson Book. (Berean Series. No. 1.) *On the International Lessons for* 1881. 16mo., pp. 182. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

The Berean Question Book. (Berean Series, No. 2.) *On the International Lessons for* 1881. 16mo., pp. 179. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

The Berean Beginner's Book. (Berean Series, No. 3.) 16mo., pp. 208. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe.

The Italian Principia. Part I. A First Italian Course. Containing a Grammar, Delectus, and Exercise Book, with Vocabularies on the Plan of Dr. William Smith's "Principia Latina." 12mo., pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A Graded Spelling-Book. Being a Complete Course in Spelling for Primary and Grammar Schools. Two Parts in One Volume. By H. F. HARRINGTON. 16mo. Part I, pp. 78; Part II, pp. 92. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The Lesson Commentary on The International Sunday-School Lessons for 1881. By JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo., pp. 342. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Three Centuries of English Letters. Selections from the Correspondence of One Hundred and Fifty Writers, from the Period of the Paston Letters to the Present Day. Edited and Arranged by W. BAPTISTE SCOONES. 12mo., pp. 573. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Drifting and Anchored. By Mrs. E. J. Richmond, Author of "The M'Alisters," "The Jeweled Serpent," "Zoa Rodman," "The Fatal Dower," "Adopted," "Hope Raymond," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 253. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Amy's Probation; or, Six Months at a Convent School. An Answer to the Question, Shall Protestant Girls be sent to Roman Catholic Schools? By the Author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," "Ayesha," etc. Two Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 251. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Saxby. A Tale of Old and New Elgland. By Emma Leslie, Author of "Ayesha," "Margarethe," "Walter," etc. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Walter. A Tale of the Times of Wesley. By Emma Leslie, Author of "Leofwine the Saxon," "Conrad," etc. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 304. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Fur Clad Adventurers; or Travels in Skin-canoes, on Dog-sledges, on Reindeer and on Snow-shoes, through Alaska, Kamchatka, and Eastern Siberia. By Z. A. Mudge, Author of "Arctic Heroes," "North-Pole Voyages," etc. Four Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 342. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Elizabeth Christine, Wife of Frederick the Great. By Catharine E. Hurst. Five Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 253. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York, for the Official Year Ending December 31, 1879. 8vo., pp. 385. New York: Hall of the Board of Education. 1880.

William Cullen Bryant. A Biographical Sketch, with Selections from his Poems and other Writings. By Andrew James Symington, F.R.S.N.A. 12mo., pp. 256. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Origin of the Homeric Poems. A Lecture by Dr. Hermann Bonitz. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, by Lewis R. Packard. 16mo., pp. 119. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Boy Travelers in the Far East. Part Second. Adventures of two Youths in a Journey to Siam and Java, with descriptions of Cochin-China, Cambodia, Sumatra, and the Malay Archipelago. By Thomas W. Knox, author of "Camp-Fire and Cotton Field," "Overland Through Asia," "Under Ground," "John," etc. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 446. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The End of a Coil. By the Author of "The Wide, Wide World." 12mo., pp. 718. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1880.

Washington Square. By Henry James, Jun., Author of "Daisy Miller," "An International Episode," etc. Illustrated by George Du Maurier. 12mo., pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881

George Bailey. A Tale of New York Mercantile Life. By Oliver Oldboy. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mary Anerly. A Yorkshire Tale. By R. D. Blackmore, Author of "Alice Lorraine," "Lorna Doone," etc. 12mo., pp. 516. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Friends Worth Knowing. Glimpses of American Natural History. By Ernest Ingersoll. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881

Ben-Hur. A Tale of the Christ. By Lew. Wallace, Author of the "Fair-God." 12mo., pp. 552. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Moral Pirates. By W. L. Alden. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 148. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

American Newspaper Directory. 8vo., pp. 1041. New York: George P. Rowell & Co. 1880.

Methodist Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1881.

Art. I.—MAN'S PLACE IN TIME.

Preadamites; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Man before Adam. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Early Man in Britain and His Place in the Tertiary Period. By W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

The Auriferous Gravels of the Sierra Nevada of California. By J. D. Whitney. Cambridge: Printed by the University Press. 1879.

It is now nearly forty years since M. Boucher de Perthes and the Danish archæologists laid the foundation of the science of prehistoric archæology. The former, in 1844, announced his discoveries of implements of human workmanship in the drift of the Somme Valley, and earlier than that Thomsen, Worsaae, and others had unearthed "the primeval antiquities of Denmark," and formulated their theory of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages, as based on the discoveries made in the Danish peat-bogs, stone-graves, and shell-mounds. Some ten or fifteen years later Dr. Keller brought to light the relics of man which had slept for so many years beneath the waves of the Swiss lakes; and contemporaneously with these explorations Bateman and Thurnam commenced their diggings into the ancient British barrows. The results of all these investigations were first collected and laid before the British public in 1863 by Sir Charles Lyell in his famous work on "The Antiquity of Man," and in 1865 by Sir John Lubbock in his "Prehistoric Times." After it rained it soon began to pour, and the evidences of the

antiquity of man seemed to multiply in every direction. Egyptian pottery was found at the depth of sixty feet in the mud of the Nile; human bones were reported from the coral rock of Florida; a human skeleton was found near New Orleans, whose age was estimated at nearly 60,000 years; a number of primitive canoes were found buried in the earth at a depth of from five to twenty-five feet from the surface, some of them twenty feet above high-water mark, near the city of Glasgow; stone axes were found in the river gravels of India associated with the bones of extinct animals; tombs, assigned to the Bronze Age, were found intact under the peperino, or volcanic tufa, in the neighborhood of Rome; arrowheads and pottery were found in association with the bones of the mastodon and mammoth in the United States; human bones were found with those of the elephant in the volcanic breccia of Puy de Dôme, in Central France; perforated sharks' teeth were found in the Pliocene beds of the east coasts of England; strange stories were told before scientific associations of human skulls found in the heart of Table Mountain, California. There were so many converging lines of evidence, and the authority on which the facts were given, or vouched for, was so high—men like Lyell, Wallace, Owen, Lubbock, Huxley, De Quatrefages, De Mortillet, Broca, Virchow, Dana, Cope—that the received Mosaic chronology was almost dropped by general consent, and the enemies of Christianity congratulated themselves that a ball at last had been driven through the sacred roll of the Hebrew books.

The age of the "artisans of the drift"—the men of the river gravels—was variously estimated at from 100,000 to 500,000 years. Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace calculated that the worked flints found beneath the stalagmitic floors in Kent's Cavern at Torquay had lain there 500,000 years, and another scientist expressed the opinion that they were even 1,000,000 years old. Sir Charles Lyell referred the gravels of the Somme Valley to the close of the Glacial Epoch, whose date he fixed at 800,000 years ago.

But in 1863 M. Desnoyers reported to the French Academy of Sciences that he had discovered far older traces of man than most of these in the upper Pliocene beds of St. Prest, and about the same time a similar discovery in Italy was reported to the

Italian Society of Natural Sciences by Professor Ramorino. Nor did the discoveries stop here. M. Bourgeois, in 1869, claimed that he had found flints chipped into cutting implements by man in the Calcaire de Beauce, near Pontlevoy, in France,* some of which had been subjected to the action of fire. It was this same year that Professor J. D. Whitney submitted to the American Association for the Advancement of Science the famous Calaveras skull found in the heart of Table Mountain, California, under 130 feet of volcanic and other deposits.

In 1874 Professor James Geikie, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of Scotland, published his well-known work, "The Great Ice Age, and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man." At the close of the volume he placed the following *addendum:*

POSTSCRIPT. A remarkable discovery has just been announced. Mr. Tiddeman writes to "Nature," Nov. 6, 1873, that among a number of bones obtained during the exploration of the Victoria Cave, near Settle, Yorkshire, there is one which Mr. Busk has identified as *human*. Mr. Busk says: "The bone is, I have no doubt, human; a portion of an unusually clumsy fibula, and in that respect not unlike the same bone in the Mentone skeleton! The interest of this discovery consists in the fact that the deposit from which the bone was obtained is overlaid, as Mr. Tiddeman has shown, by a bed of stiff glacial clay containing ice-scratched boulders." Here, then, is direct proof that man lived *prior to the last inter-glacial period*. I have said above (p. 472) that it is highly likely that man may have occupied Britain in early inter-glacial or pre-glacial times; but I hardly looked for so early and complete a confirmation of views which I first published in the beginning of 1872.

The same year that Mr. Geikie's work appeared, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Curator of the Museum and Lecturer in Geology to the Owens College, Manchester, published his work on "Cave-Hunting," and in

* Just here we want to say, that if (as alleged) these flints found in the Miocene strata are (as they are) pronounced artificial by archæological experts in France, then a very grave doubt is thrown over the artificial character of the quaternary flints from the Somme Valley. It is certain that no flints were chipped by man in the middle tertiary period, and if the flints of Thenay, which have deceived De Mortillet, Cartailhac, and others who profess to understand the subject, are really but natural forms, (like those found by Professor Hayden on the buttes at the foot of the Uintah Mountains,) then it is very probable that the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes are all a delusion.

this he also referred to the discovery of the human fibula under the glacial clay in the Victoria Cave, and stated that it established the pre-glacial age of man.

In 1875 Professor Rütimeyer, of Switzerland, announced in "Archiv für Anthropologie" that traces of basket-work and certain sharpened sticks had been found in a glacial bed at Dürnten, in the canton of Zurich.

Certain cut bones have also been reported recently from the Pliocene of Italy by Professor Capellini. It is on these numerous announcements—beginning with the Danish archæologists and M. Boucher de Perthes—that the opinion has grown up with regard to man's immense antiquity.

Two notable works on the subject have appeared within the past year; one by a well-known English geologist, and the other by a well-known American geologist—Professor Dawkins' "Early Man in Britain," and Professor Alexander Winchell's "Preadamites." Professor Dawkins is, perhaps, the best-informed man on the subject in Europe—at once geologist, palæontologist, and archæologist. Professor Winchell fills the chair of geology and palæontology in the University of Michigan, is the author of several well-known scientific works, and has made a study of anthropology for many years.

The evidence for the antiquity of man has been very much impaired in the past ten years; in fact, most of it has fairly broken down, as will appear in the course of this article.

The works by Professors Dawkins and Winchell which we have mentioned appeared about the same time last year; and it is a remarkable fact, that while both are written to establish the remote antiquity of the human race, the one is an answer to the other, and that they mutually destroy each other. Professor Dawkins undertakes to prove that man appeared on the earth in what he calls the Middle Pleistocene Period—after the glaciation and submergence of the land during the Great Ice Age—but argues that all the evidences for the existence of man in the Tertiary Era are unreliable and worthless; and not only so, but that, from a palæontological point of view, tertiary man is an improbability, if not an impossibility.

Professor Winchell, on the other hand, points out that the "middle pleistocene" or "palæolithic" man of Professor Dawkins is not older than "from 6,000 to 10,000 years," but argues

at the same time for the existence of man as far back in geological time as the Middle Tertiary—so that one argument devours the other. If Professor Dawkins' book is a trustworthy book, Professor Winchell's is entirely fanciful; and if Professor Winchell's work is trustworthy, that of Professor Dawkins is all wrong.

Professor Dawkins rests his opinion on the discovery of the relics of man in the bone-caves and river-gravels under conditions implying great changes since in the physical geography of the country, and in association with the remains of great pachyderms and carnivores now extinct. To this Professor Winchell replies:

> When we come now to investigate the antiquity of the Stone Folk in Europe, it becomes simply an investigation of the remoteness of the last glaciation of the Northern Hemisphere. Many geologists have expressed the opinion that this is measured by tens, if not by hundreds, of thousands of years. I propose to explain concisely the grounds on which such estimates have been based, and to show that they are far from conclusive.

He then considers, 1. The astronomical hypothesis of glacial periods, and rejects it. 2. The contemporaneousness of man with animals now extinct. He points out in this connection that geologists have been mistaken in the opinion that animal extinctions date back to a remote period. Extinctions of species, he affirms, have taken place within the scope of human memory and tradition. He cites the gigantic birds of New Zealand, of Madagascar, and of Mauritius. He refers to the great auk of Newfoundland, and the Labrador duck; also to the capercailzie of Denmark, the aurochs, the great trees of California, etc. He states that he himself has exhumed the remains of the mammoth in Michigan from a deposit of peat not over eighteen inches deep; that a pipe has been obtained from the mounds near Davenport, Iowa, carved in the form of an elephant; that the Irish elk has left its bones in the bogs of Ireland, and that this species, in fact, is known to have survived till the fourteenth century. 3. The magnitude of the geological changes since man's advent. These, he thinks, need not imply a great lapse of time. He says:

> We are in the midst of great changes, and are scarcely conscious of it. We have seen worlds in flames, and have felt a

comet strike the earth. We have seen the whole coast of South America lifted up bodily ten or fifteen feet and let down again in an hour. We have seen the Andes sink 220 feet in 70 years. . . . Vast transportations have also taken place in the coast-line of China. . . . We have seen the glaciers make progress in their retreat and disappearance. An ice-peak in the Tyrolese Alps has lowered eighteen feet in a few years. The Mer de Glace is a hundred feet lower or thinner than it was thirty years ago. . . . The Indians saw Lake Michigan spread its waters over Illinois. . . . The land at New Orleans grows seaward 338 feet annually. . . . Dr. Lanoye makes the delta of the Nile but 6,350 years old. . . . The Greeks retained a tradition of great hydrographic changes about the Black Sea. The Symplegades, or floating islands, were only landmarks which changed their position relatively to the changing shore-line. There was a time when the rocky barriers of the Thracian Bosphorus gave way and the Black Sea subsided. . . . During its former high level it was confluent with the Caspian and Aral seas, and thus another Mediterranean stretched eastward beyond the Dardanelles.

He concludes his review of these points as follows:

Whether, then, we consider the magnitude of the geological changes since the advent of European man, or his contemporaneousness with animals now extinct, or his succession upon the continental glacier, we *do not* discover valid grounds for assuming him removed by a distance exceeding six to ten thousand years.—Pp. 431–441.

If we may trust these conclusions of Professor Winchell, "Early Man in Britain" has been written in vain—it is a mass of misdirected learning. Professor Winchell might have said even more than he has done on the points in question—we presume he merely meant to touch them. He might have cited, in connection with the extinction of animals, the disappearance of the reindeer from Central and Western Europe since the beginning of the Christian era. It was one of the capital points urged by Lyell and Lubbock, that in the days of the "Cavemen" the climate of France must have been intensely cold, because the reindeer ranged to the foot of the Pyrenees; but Professor Dawkins now admits that it was still in Germany in the time of Cæsar. ("Cave-Hunting," p. 79,) and we know that in the north of Scotland it survived to the twelfth century. Our learned author might have referred also to the disappearance of the elephant, rhinoceros, and lion from Northern India within a few centuries; to the condition of the carcasses of the

mammoth and rhinoceros found in the frozen sands of Siberia; to the presence of the lion in the mountains of Thrace in the time of Pausanias; to the existence of the hippopotamus in India in the time of Alexander the Great; to the existence of the elephant on the banks of the Tigris, probably as late as 800 B.C.

He might have added to his citations of geographical changes the elevation of the land at Linde, in Sweden, 230 feet since the date of the neolithic shell-heaps in Denmark; to the elevation of the coasts of Norway 600 feet since the adjacent seas were characterized by their present temperature; to the elevation of 200 feet at Uddevalla, in Sweden; to the elevation of the island of San Lorenzo, (near Callao;) to the discovery of pottery in a marine deposit 150 feet above the sea on the coast of South America.

It abundantly appears, however, that the American professor does not believe in the antiquity of the relics found in the river-gravels and bone-caves of Europe. What, then, is his theory? It is this: That primeval man appeared, perhaps, in the Miocene Period (middle tertiary) on an ancient continent, now submerged, which lay in the Indian Ocean between Africa and South-eastern Asia—a continent called by Milne-Edwards the Mascarene Continent, and by others *Lemuria*. Professor Winchell does not produce any evidence to sustain this opinion, for neither the continent nor the human remains have ever been traced. It is confessedly a mere conjecture, framed to account for the absence of all traces of tertiary man on the existing continents, when, according to Professor Winchell, man must have existed *somewhere* at that time. His principal reason for believing that man has been on the earth during all these long ages is, that it is necessary to hold this opinion in order to account for the differentiation of the white, brown, and black races of men, and their dispersion over the widely-separated continents and islands of the globe—a differentiation which already existed, as seen on the monuments, at a very early period of the Egyptian monarchy.

But it is here that the British professor comes forward with equal learning to show that this view is improbable, if not impossible. Professor Dawkins believes in evolution, and would be glad, no doubt, to draw upon the long ages of the Miocene

and Pliocene Periods to obtain the requisite time for the development of man; but, despite this bias, he is compelled by the palæontological facts and the absence of all unequivocal traces of man in the tertiary beds, to refuse his assent to the conclusion reached by Professor Winchell:

Was man [he asks] an inhabitant of Europe in the Miocene Age? The climate [he says] was favorable, and the food, animal and vegetable, was most abundant. . . . Miocene Europe was fitted to be the birthplace of man, in the warm climate and in the abundance of food. There is, however, one most important consideration which renders it highly improbable that man was then living in any part of the world. No living species of land mammal has been met with in the Miocene fauna. Man, the most highly specialized of all creatures, had no place in a fauna which is conspicuous by the absence of all the mammalia associated with him.

There is no answer to be made to this; none has ever been attempted. He goes on:

Were any man-like animal living in the Miocene Age, he might reasonably be expected to be not man, but intermediate between man and something else, to bear the same relation to ourselves as the Miocene apes, such as the *Mesopithecus*, bear to those now living, such as the *Semnopithecus*. If, however, we accept the evidence advanced in favor of Miocene man, it is incredible that he alone of all the mammalia living in those times in Europe should not have perished, or have changed into some other form in the long lapse of ages during which many Miocene genera and all the Miocene species have become extinct. Those who believe in the doctrine of evolution will see the full force of this argument against the presence of man in the Miocene fauna, not merely of Europe but of the whole world.

He then refers to the splinters of flint found by the Abbé Bourgeois (and attributed to man) in the mid-Miocene strata at Thenay, and to the notched rib of the *Halitherium* found by M. Delaunay at Pouancé, and remarks that if these marks be artificial, then he would suggest that "they were made by one of the higher apes." "As the evidence stands at present," he concludes, "we have no satisfactory proof either of the existence of man in the Miocene, or of any creature nearer akin to him than the anthropomorphous apes."—Page 68.

In the chapter which follows Professor Dawkins proceeds to ask further, Whether man may not have appeared in the

Pliocene Age? He notices the human skull found by Professor Cocchi in a railway cutting at Olmo, near Arezzo, at a depth of nearly fifty feet from the surface. Unfortunately it was found with a Neolithic flint implement, which is fatal to its pretensions. He then refers to the notched bones described by Professor Capellini from the Pliocene of Tuscany, and finds the evidence here also unsatisfactory. They were found with pottery which, he says, was unknown in Europe even in the Pleistocene or Palæolithic Age. He concludes:

> There is one argument against the probability of man having lived in Europe in Pliocene times which seems to me unanswerable. Twenty-one fossil mammalia have been recently proved by Dr. Forsyth Major to have inhabited Tuscany in the Pliocene Age; of these there is only one species—the hippopotamus—now alive on the earth. It is to my mind to the last degree improbable that man, the most highly specialized of the animal kingdom, should have been present in such a fauna as this, composed of so many extinct species. They belong to one stage of evolution, and man to another and a later stage. . . . As the evidence stands at present the geological record is silent as to man's appearance in Europe in the Pliocene Age. It is very improbable that he will ever be proved to have lived in this quarter of the world at that remote time, since of all the European mammalia then alive only one has survived to our own day.—Pp. 90–93.

This opinion with regard to the existence of tertiary man is not confined to Professor Dawkins. The same conclusion was formally enunciated a few years since by the Anthropological Society of London, and in an address before the Department of Anthropology, in the Biological Section of the British Association, in 1878, Professor Huxley said:

> That we can get back as far as the epoch of the Drift is, I think, beyond any rational question or doubt; . . . but when it comes to a question as to the evidence of tracing back man further than that—and recollect drift is only the scum of the earth's surface—I must confess that to my mind the evidence is of a very dubious character.

It abundantly appears, therefore, from the quotations we have made, that the science of Prehistoric Archæology is in a fair way to be devoured by its own advocates—like Actæon by his own dogs; and we might, perhaps, leave the subject in their hands, confident that, like the "Destructive Criticism" of the German biblical scholars, it will end in the illustration

and the confirmation of the historical accuracy of the biblical records.

The history of this science is full of instruction as to the danger of generalizing too rapidly in scientific matters on imperfectly understood facts. It would seem almost incredible that, ten years ago, men like Lyell, Lubbock, Owen, Busk, Geikie, De Quatrefages, Broca, Morlot, De Mortillet, Lartet, Agassiz, should have blindly accepted all the wild theories of enthusiastic antiquaries with regard to the ages of stone, bronze, and iron, and the antiquity of the races whose implements or bones were found in the barrows, the lake-beds, the refuse piles, the peat, and the caves of Europe. In nearly all these cases, once so confidently relied on to prove the antiquity of man, the evidence, as previously remarked, has broken down. We hear little or nothing now about the stone circles, the cromlechs, the cairns, the tumuli, which exercised so powerfully the imagination of Thurnam, Greenwell, Rolleston, and Lubbock in connection with the primitive inhabitants of Britain. So many discoveries have been made establishing the fact that many of these graves are even later than the advance of the Romans into Northern Europe, and that none of them carry evidence of any very remarkable antiquity, that this branch of the evidence seems silently to have dropped out of archæological literature. The same remark is true of the speculations which were based on the relics found in the peat-bogs, in the lake-dwellings, and in the shell-heaps. More careful inquiries showed that peat frequently formed with great rapidity, and objects were found in the lowest layers of the French, Danish, and Irish bogs, which belonged to the Roman or even more recent periods; as the boat freighted with Roman bricks at the bottom of the Abbeville peat, the Roman axes and coins in Hatfield Moss, etc. With regard to the antiquity of the lake-dwellers, Professor Winchell informs us "that, in many instances, the *débris* from lacustrine villages have yielded Roman coins and other works of Roman art;" and that "the latest pile habitations come down to the sixth century." He might have stated that at the Stockholm meeting of the Anthropological Society in 1874, Professor Virchow presented evidence to show that these settlements were in existence in Sweden and Pomerania as late as the tenth century.

Sir John Lubbock was so impressed with the primitive character of the flint implements obtained from the Danish shell-heaps, and with the circumstances under which they were found, that he assigned to them, in his work on "Prehistoric Times," a very high antiquity. He considered them pre-Neolithic, while Professor Worsaae, of Denmark, assigned them to the Palæolithic Age. The Rev. Dunbar Heath, F.R.S.L., made them still older; he referred them to a race of mutes at the close of the Tertiary Era. It turned out that they had no very special antiquity; that similar refuse heaps of Roman date occur in the Channel Islands; that the extreme rudeness of the implements was due to the rude condition of the wretched fishermen who formerly inhabited the Danish islands; and, finally, in one of them, where the objects were more primitive in their form and workmanship than in most of the others, to wit, at Samsingerbanken, M. Valdemar Smith reports that objects of bronze have been met with.

The stalagmitic floors were in the beginning greatly relied on as evidences of the great lapse of time since the bone-caves were inhabited by man. Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace was so impressed with the facts in this connection at Kent's Hole, that, as we have previously noticed, he calculated the antiquity of the bone and stone objects found below the stalagmite to be as great as 500,000 years. But in "Early Man in Britain" Professor Dawkins observes: "This, (the stalagmite,) however, offers no measure of the interval, . . . because the rate of accumulation depends upon the currents of air in the caves and the amount of water passing through the limestone, both of which are variables." "In the Ingleborough Cave," he says, "it has been so swift that, between 1845 and 1873, a stalagmitic boss, known as the Jockey Cap, has grown at the rate of .2,941 inch per annum," and, as he remarks elsewhere, "from this instance of rapid accumulation, the value of a layer of stalagmite in measuring the antiquity of deposits below it is comparatively little."

Equal discredit has been thrown upon "the fossil man of Denise," "the fossil man of Guadaloupe," "the fossil man of Florida," "the fossil man of New Orleans," "the fossil man of Natchez," Dr. Horner's Egyptian pottery, the cone of the Sahara, the canoes buried in the silt at Glasgow, the tombs of

the Bronze Age under the peperino in Italy, the perforated sharks' teeth from the English crag, etc.

The human fibula discovered under the glacial clay in the Victoria Cave, which was so formally and seriously indorsed by Professors Geikie and Dawkins, it is now ascertained belonged to a bear; and the basket-work and sharpened sticks described by Professor Rütimeyer from the glacial beds of Switzerland, are also given up by Professor Dawkins in his work now before us.

The evidence has, in fact, given way all along the line, except at one point, and this is the implements, so-called, found in the gravel-beds. We consider that nothing else remains to prehistoric archæology but this point; no room is left, we mean, for any contention except just here. Professor Dawkins presses this point with great learning and ability. But we have already explained that Professor Winchell, in view of all the evidence, reaches the conclusion that a very exaggerated importance has been given to the physical changes and other phenomena relied on in this connection. It all, as he says, depends on the date of the Glacial Age, and the close of this epoch he fixes at some 6,000 or 10,000 years ago. There is one fact that has always seemed to us decisive in this matter of the approximate date of the Glacial Age—one which has never been replied to by the advocates of the remote date of that period. That fact is this: no palæolithic implements have ever been found north of a certain line; none have been found in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Scotland, or the north of England. The explanation given of this by Lyell is, that the ice had not retired from these northerly regions when the men of the First Stone Age lived in the Valley of the Somme. Nor have the remains of the great extinct animals been found in Scandinavia. The Glacial Age still lingered in these regions: when did the ice retreat? The first trace of man in Scotland, the north of England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Ireland, is in connection with the implements of the Polished Stone Age. This will fix the date of the retreat of the glaciers, or, more strictly, perhaps, of the glacial seas, if we can fix the date of the Polished Stone Age. It was certainly not more than 5,500 years, probably not over 3,500 years, ago. It is the date of the older lake-dwellings.

The conceit of Professor Winchell about the lost continent in the Indian Ocean is not only unsupported by facts, but it is —we say it most respectfully—unscientific. Dana lays it down as a fundamental principle, in his "Manual of Geology," (the greatest, we believe, that has ever been published,) that the continents were outlined as we now know them from the beginning, and that the continents and oceans have never changed places. The continents have often, in geological time, been submerged to a greater or less degree, but they lay at comparatively shallow depths under the invading oceans. Referring to the relations of the North American Archæan areas to the continent, he says:

> The evolution of the grand structure-lines of the continent was hence early commenced, and the system thus initiated was the system to the end. Here is one strong reason for concluding that the continents have always been continents; that, while portions may at times have been submerged some thousands of feet, the continents have never changed places with the oceans. —*Manual*, sec. edit., p. 160.

Le Conte teaches the same doctrine:

> The outlines [he says] of the present continents have been sketched in the earliest geological times, and have been gradually developed and perfected in the course of the history of the earth.—*Elements*, p. 169.

Professor Winchell has followed the theory of Lyell and the English geologists who have taught (see Lyell's "Principles," chap. xii) that the ocean floors and the continental platforms have from time to time exchanged places. Recent investigations seem to prove decisively that Lyell is wrong, and Dana right. In an article contributed last year to the "Nineteenth Century" by Dr. William B. Carpenter on "The Deep Sea and its Contents," he states that nothing struck the "Challenger" surveyors more than the extraordinary *flatness* (except near shore) of the ocean floor. They ascertained by their soundings (corresponding with those in the Pacific by the United States Ship "Tuscarora") that "the form of the depressed area which lodges the water of the deep ocean is rather, indeed, to be likened to that of a flat waiter or tea-tray, surrounded by an elevated and steeply-sloping rim, than to that of the 'basin' with which it is commonly compared." A

belt of shallow water runs along the coast-line of the continent, and then the sea-bed abruptly descends to a great depth. This interior trough (whose average depth is two and a half miles) has never been above the waves. Says Dr. Carpenter:

> Now these facts remarkably confirm the doctrine long since propounded by the distinguished American geologist, Professor Dana, . . . that these elevated areas now forming the continental platforms, and the depressed areas that constitute the existing ocean floors, *were formed as such in the first instance*, and have remained unchanged.

These results were presented by Professor Geikie in his able lecture before the Geographical Society on "Geographical Evolution." He announces as a settled fact that "from the earliest geological times the great area of deposit has been, as it still is, *the marginal belt of sea-floor skirting the land.*" And again:

> From all this evidence we may legitimately conclude that the present land of the globe, though composed in great measure of marine formations, has never lain under the deep sea, but that site must always have been near land. . . . The present continental ridges have probably always existed in some form; and as a corollary we may infer that *the present deep ocean basins likewise date from the remotest geological antiquity.*

What, then, becomes of Professor Winchell's Lost Lemuria? His conjecture (for, as we have stated, it is only this) falls to the ground; and rejecting, as he does, all trace of Tertiary man on the existing continents, and at the same time the antiquity of the European cave-men, he seems shut up to the old-fashioned opinion that man is about 6,000 (or, perhaps, 7,000) years old, and no more. We see no alternative, and Professor Winchell is thoroughly candid, and will not seek to escape from facts which he regards as established.

The absence of all traces of man in the tertiary strata, now so widely explored by geologists in most parts of the world, is a very pregnant fact in its bearing on modern anthropological theories. Recognizing its significance, Sir Charles Lyell was led to remark, that if man existed at this remote period, we must rather expect to find him in the countries of the anthropomorphous apes—the tropical regions of Africa, and the islands of Borneo and Sumatra, which, he says, "have not yet been explored." ("Antiquity of Man," p. 538.)

Within the past year or two, however, acting on this hint, and with the aid of funds obtained for the purpose in England, the ossiferous caves of Borneo have been explored, and still the missing links have not been found. In these caves, where it was hoped to find traces of early anthropoid forms, the only human remains met with were found in association with objects indicating a high civilization. "No light," says a writer in "Nature," "has been thrown on the origin of the human race."

It has also been well replied to this, (by Alfred Russel Wallace,) that in Miocene times the climate of the south of Europe was almost tropical, and even in Pliocene times England enjoyed a climate as warm as that of Italy at present. And the remains of apes have, accordingly, been found in Miocene strata in India, Greece, Germany, and France, and in the Pliocene beds of France, Italy, and England.

But it is not true that the apes are not adapted to a temperate climate. They range at present as far north as Gibraltar and Japan, and Dr. Hooker saw monkeys in the Himalayas at the height of 8,000 feet, while *Semnopithecus thibetus* and *Macacus thibetus* were found by Father David inhabiting the Snowy Mountains of Moupin, in Thibet, at the height of 3,000 metres. They are believed to exist in Northern China. Southward they approach the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, and are found in Brazil and Paraguay as far as 30 degrees.

The difficulty with Professor Winchell is the Negro, a difficulty which we appreciate. The Negro, like the unspeakable Turk in politics, offers to the ethnologist a perpetual puzzle. We know very well that he appears very early on the Egyptian monuments. The differentiation of the languages of mankind offers a similar difficulty in connection with the orthodox opinion as to man's age in the world. They are difficulties of long standing. But when the archæological evidence has broken down, shall we set aside the biblical chronology on the sole ground that we cannot explain the divergence of human types and human languages in so short a time?

It is impossible, within the brief limits of this article, to go over the ground already so often traversed. Nearly thirty years ago Nott and Gliddon urged this objection to the received chronology in their famous "Types of Mankind," pointing to the delineations on the Egyptian monuments.

The allusions in Genesis to Cain's fears lest "every one finding him should slay him," and to his "building a city," have also been urged in "The Genesis of the Earth and of Man," (1857,) and in M'Causland's "Adam and the Adamite," not to go back to the treatise of Peyrerius, published in 1655. Professor Winchell cites these authors at length, and makes no claim to originality in this part of his work. It has often been suggested that, in these references with regard to Cain, it is implied that other populations than the Adamic must have been in existence. But we must bear in mind that Cain (according to the Bible) probably lived near a thousand years, and that a very considerable population would have gathered on the earth from Adam in that time. The "city," we presume, was, moreover, a mere acropolis, or fort, like the original Troy or Mycenæ, or, yet more likely, a mere village containing a few huts. A similar remark will apply to the cities said to have been built by Nimrod: he *founded* them, and, living possibly some four hundred years, he saw them develop into considerable places for that age of the world.

More time is, perhaps, needed between Noah and Abraham than is allowed by the received Hebrew chronology, but not a great deal—five hundred or a thousand years is sufficient. This may be obtained by supposing (as is very probably the fact) gaps in the genealogy. There were ten names from Adam to Noah; ten from Noah to Abraham. So there were ten antediluvian kings from Alorus to Xisithrus in the Chaldean tradition. In the same manner the sacred books of the Iranians reckon nine heroes of a character entirely mythical, who succeeded Gayômaretan, the typical man. And again, we meet in the cosmogenic traditions of the Indians with the nine Brahmâdikas, making, with Brahmâ, their author, ten, who are called the ten Pitris, or "fathers." The Chinese, too, reckon ten emperors, partaking of the divine nature, between Foo-hi and the sovereign who inaugurated the historical period, Hoang-ti. The Arabs, also, had their ten mythical kings of 'Ad, the primordial people of their peninsula. There was among these primitive races some reason connected with their manner of constructing their genealogical tables, for their selecting the number *ten*, just as we see in St. Matthew the genealogy of our Lord arrayed in three divisions of fourteen generations

each, while St. Luke from Abraham to Christ reckons fifty-six. It is obvious that names have been dropped out by Matthew to preserve the number *fourteen*. It was a common practice with the Jews to distribute genealogies into divisions, each containing some typical number, and, in order to effect this, generations were either repeated or left out. In a Samaritan poem the generations from Adam to Moses are divided into two decades, six of the least important names being omitted.

It is evident, again, that the figures given in Genesis in this connection have been tampered with, for the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint texts all differ. We do not purpose, however, as we have said, to go into these points; our object at present is to consider the volumes before us from an archæological rather than a biblical stand-point, and these and similar points made by Professor Winchell, and presented with great learning and force, are familiar to theologians, and fall more naturally in their province.

We cannot omit altogether to notice the discussion given to the Negro in Professor Winchell's work, one half of which is devoted to developing the point that "the actual portraitures on the Egyptian monuments (as far back as 2000 B.C.) exhibit the Negro in all his characteristics, as broadly differentiated from the Noachite as he is to-day upon the banks of the Congo." "As early as the twelfth dynasty the Egyptians recognized four races—the red, the yellow, the black, and the white."

The attack upon the biblical chronology comes in our day from geology and prehistoric archæology. If these are disposed of, we do not think that many Christians, at least, would be willing to give up the received chronology and the received theology (whereby Adam is regarded as the federal head and representative of the human race in the Garden of Eden) on the mere ground that we cannot explain with entire clearness the early divergence of races and languages. There is no more difficulty, as already remarked by us, about the early differentiation of the yellow race than there is about the early differentiation of the Chinese language. The Egyptian language was differentiated from the very beginning of the monarchy. So of the Accadian language in Babylonia. How shall we explain these facts in consistency with a short chronology? Professor Winchell is not one of those scientists after the order of Haeckel or Huxley;

he is a reverent student evidently of the Bible, and a devout believer in its inspiration and its authority. How, then, will he explain the divergence of languages? We refer him to the eleventh chapter of Genesis.

And, now, why may it not be that the divergence of human types occurred in the same way? It were natural that the immediate descendants of Noah should have marked peculiarities of character stamped on them in the beginning as the *origines gentium*—from whom all the varieties of the human family were to proceed. We see such a fact distinctly pointed out in God's dealings with Abraham. Abraham had two descendants—Jacob and Ishmael. Now all the race-traits which we see to-day in the Jew were foreshadowed in the prophecies regarding them in the books of Moses, and may be even, to a considerable extent, recognized in the character of their great progenitor. So Ishmael was to be "a wild man, and his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him"—a fit type and source of his Bedouin descendants. Now we can see nothing more strange, if Cush in like manner should have been marked as the progenitor of a strongly differentiated race. We have a most decided intimation that such was the fact, in the curse associated with his family. Professor Winchell observes on this, that the curse was against *Canaan*, and that the descendants of Canaan did not even settle in Africa. The truth is, that it was Ham who committed the sin, and in the biblical narrative it is his son (Canaan) who is cursed. The explanation is this: When the Mosaic books were written, the Israelites were marching against the Canaanites, to destroy them as an accursed race; they constituted the most prominent object before them; therefore Moses singles out Canaan, saying nothing about the other sons of Ham, with whom the Israelites had no concern, and (so far as the Cushites were concerned) had no contact. The writer shows what was in his mind, commencing his account (ver. 22) of the matter with "And Ham, *the father of Canaan*"—it was Canaan's connection with the matter that he had in view. It was the posterity (including Canaan) of Ham who were marked by some mental peculiarity, resulting, perhaps, in some physical distinction.

If these hints be well-grounded, we pass, then, out of the domain of science in considering such questions as the diver-

ity of languages and the diversity of races. Scientific men persist in bringing down every transaction in the Bible to the level of science; thus they cannot understand the creation of man, nor the Flood. But if there be a God, and if he communicates with men, and interposes in human affairs, may there not be, as represented in the Bible, supernatural occurrences? What has Science to say to the career of Jesus Christ on the earth eighteen hundred years ago? If Science cannot take cognizance of the Resurrection, then why must the Flood, the Creation of Man, the Confusion of Tongues, be all arraigned in the forum of Science?

But, after all, is it certain that it would take, necessarily, a very long time to produce a black race? The guinea-pig, which in its native country is of a gray color, during its limited sojourn in Europe has changed into a variety marked with brown, black, and white spots. Now, why should not one insist that this differentiation—equal as regards color to the differences between the human races—must have required long ages? The American wolf and the European wolf are the same; but on this continent, in the far north it is white; in temperate latitudes it is gray; in Florida and Georgia it is black; in Missouri it is clouded; in Texas it is red. It is a well-known fact that birds of the finch tribe, if fed on hemp, will soon turn black. "The color of the skin," says De Quatrefages, "depends upon a simple secretion which is subject to modification under a number of circumstances. . . . There is, therefore, nothing strange that some human groups, differing widely in other respects, should resemble each other in the matter of color. This is the reason why the Hindu, (Aryan,) and the Bisharee, and the Moor, (Semitic,) although belonging to the *white race*, assume the same, and even a darker, hue than the *true negro*."

Here is a peculiar case referred to by Professor Huxley. He says:

> In the woods of Florida there are a great many pigs; and it is a curious thing that they are all black, every one of them. Professor Wyman was there some years ago, and on noticing no pigs but these black ones, he asked some of the people how it was that they had no white pigs. The reply was, that in the woods of Florida there was a root which they called the Paint Root; and that if the white pigs were to eat any of it, it had the effect

of making their hoofs crack, and they died; but if the black pigs eat any of it, it did not hurt them at all.

Now the malaria, it has been suggested, may have done for the primitive human settlers in Africa what the Paint Root has done for the white and black pigs in Florida.

The hair of animals, also, changes with equal facility under certain conditions. According to Darwin, in the West Indies, about three generations will produce a very marked change in the fleece of sheep. In Africa their fleece degenerates into a coarse hair. The mastiff and the goat from Thibet, when brought down from the Himalaya Mountains to Kashmir, lose their fine wool. At Angora, not only goats, but shepherd dogs, and even cats, have fine fleecy hair. Karakool sheep lose their black curled fleeces when removed into any other country.

Equal changes occur in form. The domestic cat did not appear in Northern Europe earlier than the Christian era; how, then, shall we account for the tailless cat of the Isle of Man? Swine with solid hoofs, like horses, were known to the ancients. Yet, according to the theory of evolution, it took the whole of the tertiary period to consolidate the four toes of the eohippus into the compact hoof of our present horse. The European hogs carried to the Island of Cubagua by the Spaniards in 1509 have degenerated into a monstrous race, with toes half a span in length. Dr. Bachman states that the cattle in Opelousas, Western Louisiana, in thirty years, without a change of stock, produced a variety of immense size, with a peculiar form and enormous horns, like the cattle of Abyssinia. De Quatrefages mentions the *niata* cattle of Buenos Ayres, which is descended (of course) from a European stock. It now bears the same relation to other oxen that the bull-dog does to other dogs. All the forms are shortened and thickened, the head especially being enlarged and concentrated.

> The inferior maxillary bone . . . so far exceeds the superior in length that the animal is unable to browse on trees. The cranium is as much deformed as the face; not only are the forms of the bones modified, but also their relations, not one of which, according to Professor Owen, has been strictly preserved.

But, if we understand Professor Winchell, changes like these require time stretching back to the Middle Tertiary.

Now, in view of the facts cited, we ask the question: If some distinguishing physical peculiarity should, at a very early period, have been impressed upon some of the descendants of Ham, and, put under the ban and ruled out by the other tribes, they should have become isolated in some miasmatic, marshy district of Africa, is it incredible that they should have formed a new breed of men?

We merely add, that it may very well be that the differentiation of the races took place before the Flood. There may have been more colors than one in the ark.

The third work on our list is that of Professor Whitney on the Auriferous Gravels of the Sierra Nevada of California. The name of this eminent geologist has for many years been associated with the Calaveras skull, which was found in a shaft 130 feet deep, under five beds of lava and volcanic tufa, and four beds of auriferous gravel. The discovery was so astounding that it was not fully credited, although it is cited and accepted by Dr. Foster in his "Pre-historic Races of the United States," published in 1873. Bancroft, also, in his "Native Races of the Pacific States," cites a large number of cases in which stone mortars, weapons, etc., have been found in California, in Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, and elsewhere, at great depths.

This subject has, however, been now more authoritatively brought to the attention of scientific men by the publication of the present volumes from the types of the University Press at Cambridge, in which Professor Whitney discusses these discoveries at length, and formally reaches the conclusion that they establish the existence of man on the Pacific Coast of North America in the Tertiary age. He reports, among a number of others, the following cases in which human remains and works of art have been found in the auriferous gravels.

1. Stone mortars and platters, at the depth of 90 feet, in 1863, at Gold Springs, by Mr. Lot Cannell, a miner. These objects were found in the same stratum with bones and teeth of the mastodon.

2. Stone dishes and mortars, and stone weapons, on Woods' Creek, Tuolumne County, in 1862–65, with bones of elephant and mastodon, at a depth of 20 to 40 feet.

3. Fragment of a human skull in Museum of Natural His-

tory Society of Boston, taken from a shaft in Table Mountain, 180 feet from surface, in gold drift, near mastodon bones. It was overlaid by hard basaltic strata.

4. A stone mortar, found in gravel, at a depth of 200 feet, under Table Mountain, overlaid by 60 feet of basalt, and at a distance of 1,800 feet from mouth of tunnel. This mortar is two feet seven and a half inches in circumference.

5. The Calaveras skull, found in 1866, near Altaville, in Calaveras County, 130 feet from the surface. Near it, in the shaft, the miners found a small snail-shell, (*Helix mormonum*, now existing in the Sierra Nevada,) several pieces of charcoal, etc.

Professor Whitney says there is no doubt of the authenticity of this relic. The skull, he says, "presents no signs of having belonged to an inferior race. In its breadth it agrees with the other crania from California, except those of the Diggers, but surpasses them in the other particulars in which comparisons have been made."

6. Stone mortars and other stone relics, near San Andreas, Calaveras County, at the depth of 150 feet.

7. A stone hatchet, perforated for a handle, at from 60 to 75 feet from surface, in gravel, under basalt, and 300 feet from mouth of tunnel. "At about the same time and place were also found stone mortars and fossil bones." This was in Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, opposite O'Byrn's Ferry, on Stanislaus River.

Many other cases are cited, and in many instances the depth at which the mortars and other objects were found is not greater than from 10 to 20 feet, but always in the auriferous gravel.

From these facts Professor Whitney draws the following conclusions:

1. The clear and unequivocal proof, beyond any possibility of doubt or cavil, of the contemporaneous existence of man with the mastodon, fossil elephant, and other extinct species, at a very remote epoch as compared with any thing recorded in history.

2. That man, thus proved to be contemporaneous with a group of animals now extinct, did not essentially differ from what he now is in the same region and over the whole North American continent.

3. That there is a large body of evidence, the strength of which it is impossible to deny, which seems to prove that man existed in California previous to the cessation of volcanic activity in the Sierra Nevada, to the epoch of the greatest extension of

the glaciers in that region, and to the erosion of the present river cañons and valleys, at a time when the animal and vegetable creations differed entirely from what they now are, and when the topographical features of the State were extremely unlike those exhibited by the present surface.

4. That man existing even at that remote epoch, which goes back at least as far as the Pliocene, was still the same as we now find him to be in that region, and the same that he was in the intermediate period after the cessation of volcanic activity, and while the erosion of the present river cañons was going on.

5. That the discoveries in California, and those in other parts of the world, notably in Portugal and India, present a strong body of evidence going to prove the existence, during an immensely long period, of the human race in its primitive condition —that is to say, in the simplest and rudest condition in which man could exist and be man.

6. That, so far as we know, there is no evidence of the existence of any primordial stock from which man may have been derived as far back at least as the Pliocene. MAN, THUS, IS NOTHING BUT MAN, WHETHER FOUND IN PLIOCENE, POST-PLIOCENE, OR RECENT FORMATIONS.—P. 288. [The capitals are ours.]

It should be added to the above that the plants as well as the animals found in the lower gravels are of Miocene age, and the older gravels found under the basalt may be referred to the close of the Miocene, rather than to the Pliocene.

Referring to these discoveries in his address before the American Association, at Saratoga, in 1879, Professor Marsh fully indorsed them, and said: "At present, the known facts indicate that the American beds containing human remains and works of man are as old as the Pliocene of Europe. The existence of man in the Tertiary period seems now fairly established."

The gravity of the situation is increased by the circumstance that Professor Dana, one of the most cautious of geologists, has incorporated the California discoveries in the recent edition of his "Manual of Geology," with no words of criticism or dissent; and Professor Le Conte, though in a more guarded manner, has done the same thing in his "Elements of Geology."

What is the result? We not only have man in the early Pliocene or the Miocene, but we have man at this remote epoch "still the same as we now find him," "nothing but man;" man fabricating with the skill of a modern lapidary heavy granite dishes and mortars, using polished stone weapons

and perforated stone hammers. The mortars and pestles are some of them delineated in Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific States," vol. iv, pp. 697–709, and in "The Epoch of the Mammoth," pp. 395–397, by the present writer. They are specimens of superb workmanship in the hardest stone. Bancroft also mentions other objects, as perforated disks and "skillets with a spout and three legs." This Pliocene man of America is far in advance of the Palæolithic man of the European river-gravels; he must indeed have been superior to the lake-dwellers of the Second Stone Age. And now, if these conclusions are sound, what becomes of the doctrine of Evolution? Man not only appeared on the earth earlier than any other mammalian form now living on the land, but he was as perfect at that time as he is to-day; he has not changed. Professor Dawkins, clinging to the theory of Evolution, tells us that this was impossible. How could the highest appear first? It is as if some zealous antiquary should introduce the vertebrate before the invertebrate life. If through the countless ages of the whole Pliocene and Quaternary eras man has not changed, how are we to accept the statement that the camel, the horse, and other mammalian forms, have been undergoing modifications and developing during all this time?

And then, again, does any well-balanced mind *believe* what these scientific gentlemen tell us to be true? Can any one who knows what is meant by geological time, give his consent to the fabrication of granite and diorite dishes and mortars, of large dimensions, in the early Pliocene epoch?

Perhaps there is some other explanation; though, even should this fail us, we cannot accept such monstrous conclusions, even if advanced by our most eminent scientific authorities. Let us scrutinize the facts: 1. The prevailing objects discovered in these California gravels are the *mortars and pestles*. 2. They are invariably, we believe, *found in gold-bearing gravels*. 3. They have been almost invariably found by the miners in their search for *gold*.

Nothing impressed the Spaniards more in the sixteenth century in Mexico than the abundance and lavish employment of the precious metals. The chroniclers of that period give extravagant accounts of palaces and temples resplendent with gold. Where did the civilized races of ancient Mexico pro-

cure their gold? The question is answered by Dr. Daniel Wilson, in his learned work on the archæology of America:

> The metallurgic arts [he tells us] were carried in some respects further by the Mexicans than the Peruvians. Silver, lead, and tin were obtained from the mines of Tasco, and copper was wrought in the mountains of Zacotollan by means of galleries and shafts opened with persevering toil where the metallic veins were imbedded in the solid rock.

Mr. Bancroft, in the "Native Races of the Pacific States," gives similar testimony. Both gold and copper, we are told, were mined in Mexico from veins in the solid rock, extensive galleries being opened for the purpose. (Vol. ii, 274.) They carried their excavations, says this laborious author, to the depth of two hundred feet or more, to procure the chalchinite, so much prized as an ornament. Obsidian they obtained in the same way, the mines at the Cerro de las Navajas, near Monte Jacal, being described as opening three or four feet in diameter, and penetrating one hundred and ten to one hundred and forty feet horizontally, with side drifts as occasion might require.

We cannot doubt, therefore, that the ancient population of the Pacific coasts were seekers after gold, and that they possessed the ability to procure it even several hundred feet deep in the bowels of the earth. The ruder races of the East and North have left behind them traces of their mining operations in the mica mines of North Carolina and the copper mines of Lake Superior. We are not, however, left to conjecture on this subject. Here is a specific statement published years ago without reference to this controversy in Schoolcraft's "Archæology," vol. i, p. 105:

> It was late in the month of August, in 1849, that the gold-diggers at one of the mountain diggings, called Murphy's, [this is in Table Mountain, where the Calaveras skull was found,] were surprised, in examining a high barren district of mountain, to find the abandoned site of an old mine.
>
> "It is evidently," says a writer, "the work of ancient times." The shaft discovered is two hundred and ten feet deep. Its mouth is situated on a high mountain. It was several days before preparations could be completed to descend and explore it. The bones of a human skeleton were found at the bottom. There were also found an altar for worship and other evidences of ancient labor. No evidence has been discovered to denote the era

of this ancient work. There has been nothing to determine whether it is to be regarded as the remains of the explorations of the first Spanish adventurers, or of a still earlier period. The occurrence of the remains of an altar looks like the period of Indian worship.

Bearing on the same subject, the following item, cut from a western newspaper in November last, is a pertinent illustration:

An old mine, supposed to have been worked by the ancients, was discovered last week by a prospecting party in the Sangre de Cristo range of mountains, Colorado. In the mine are two large chambers from ten to twenty feet high, and double that number of feet in breadth. Stones, bones, skulls, and gold were found, the value of the latter being about nine hundred dollars. A further investigation will be made.

There are the facts, and whether Professors Whitney, Marsh, Dana, and Le Conte are excusable in publishing to the world that man lived in California in the Pliocene epoch, we leave to the readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review.

It is corroborative of the views above presented that Professor Whitney states in his Report, (p. 280,) that no finds similar in character to those occurring in the Sierra Nevada have ever been made in the Coast Range. No instance of the sort, he remarks, so far as he is informed, has ever been heard of. He states:

The soil and detritus of the region about the bay of San Francisco have been excavated for all sorts of purposes, and in a great many localities bones and teeth of extinct animals have been found in abundance. Never, so far as known, have any human bones or works of human hands been met with in connection with these remains, while they are common enough on the surface.

This is, indeed, very remarkable, if man was living in the neighboring region of the Sierra Nevada all through the Pliocene and Quaternary ages. The simple explanation is, that there was no *gold* in the Coast Range. No mining was carried on there by the primitive inhabitants of the Pacific Coast. "By far the larger portion of the Coast Range gravels may, without hesitation, be set down as nearly or quite destitute of gold."—P. 299. It is only in the gold country

that the mortars are found; it is only in the auriferous gravels that they are found; and they are found by miners seeking for gold.

NOTE.—Since this article was in type we have seen Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace's new book entitled, "Island Life; or, The Phenomena and Causes of Insular Faunas and Floras." In this work Mr. Wallace takes precisely the same position as Dana and Carpenter with regard to the permanency of the continents and ocean basins, and, referring in a special discussion to the supposed Lemurian continent, rejects it as contradicted by all the facts of geology.

"Our actual continents," he says, page 92, "have been in continuous existence under variously modified forms during the whole period of known geological history," and, in support of this opinion, he quotes from Darwin ("Origin of Species," sixth edition, p. 288) as follows: "If, then, we may infer any thing from these facts, we may infer that where our oceans now extend, oceans have extended from the remotest period of which we have any record."

As to "Lemuria," he says, p. 388, "The supposed 'Lemuria' must have existed, if at all, at so remote a period that the higher animals did not then inhabit either Africa or Southern Asia, and it must have been partially submerged before they reached those countries." But he assigns a number of reasons why the supposed continent could never have existed at all, and says that the hypothesis was only "provisional," and has been proved to be untenable. He thinks that certain shoals and coral reefs indicate that there were several large islands between Madagascar and India, but these reefs and shoals, he remarks, are all separated by a very deep sea—two thousand five hundred fathoms.

ART. II.—THE OLD BIBLES. THE HEBREW BIBLE DISTINGUISHED AMONG THEM.

"AND I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head." Gen. iii, 15.

"And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Gen. xii, 3.

"Let the nations be glad and sing for joy." Psa. lxvii, 4.

"Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; . . . for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord. . . . For thy Maker is thine husband; the Lord of hosts is his name; and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel." Isa. liv, 1–5.

"There came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." Matt. ii, 1, 2.

"God that made the world . . . will judge the world . . . by that man whom he hath ordained." Acts xvii, 24, 31.

"Of a truth I perceive that . . . in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." Acts x, 34, 35.

"Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, . . . and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image." Rom. i, 21–23.

"Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold." John x, 16.

"Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." Matt. viii, 11.

These are remarkable scriptures. They are the openings of the windows of heaven toward the Gentiles.

Isaiah, in the chapter preceding that from which we quote, expresses so clearly the Jewish anticipation of a Redeemer that there can be no mistaking it; and in this (liv) he addresses the Gentiles in such a way as implies a similar anticipation cherished among them, with a comforting assurance that it shall not be disappointed. It is calculated, we should think, to abate very materially the conceit of the Jews that they are the only people for whom God has any regard—for the "children of the desolate," it is said, "are more than the children of the married wife." The "married wife" was the Hebrew nation—taken into a specially intimate relation; the "desolate" was the Gentile world cast off by God. David is praying for the enlargement of God's kingdom. He casts his eye beyond the boundaries of Israel, taking in *all the nations*, and inviting them to praise God by his name JAH, or JEHOVAH. (Psa. lxviii.) The promise to Abraham included *all the families of the earth*. We find, as a matter of fact which is not usually given the prominence it deserves, that when the Redeemer of the world was born his star appeared and was recognized in the far east, at Persia, by devout souls who were looking for the "consolation of Israel" as definitely as was Simeon—and Simeon recognized the Child he held in his arms as "a light to lighten the Gentiles." Luke ii, 32. It dawned on Peter's mind, at length, that "in *every nation* he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." But the fact that there *were* some was more startling. Paul, in his address to the Greeks, intro-

duces the "unknown God" as the "Lord of heaven and earth;" the Father of men—one of their own poets had said, "For we also are his offspring;" and the Judge of the world by "THAT MAN *whom he hath ordained*"—the basis of the allusion to THAT MAN being their anticipation of ONE.

With reference to the anticipation of the Jews and their recognition of a like anticipation among other peoples, these scriptures are clear. But this latter idea was not known to be in the Hebrew Scriptures until research from other directions established the fact that in all the great Gentile religious systems, in the Zend-Avesta, the Vedas, the Tripitaka, the oldest Chinese books, and in all the old mythologies, the Messianic idea was one of the fundamental ideas.

We do not deem it necessary in this place to fortify the statement that the anticipation of a Redeemer is found as a prominent feature in all religions. It is implied in sacrifice, which is universal. As George Smith says, ("Patriarchal Age," p. 156.) after a survey of the whole field, "In these mythologic traditions all the external circumstances of the subject of this promise stand out in bold relief; a son of a God is born of a woman, and is, therefore, mortal; he is engaged in some desperate warfare with a malignant spiritual power, which generally assumes the form of a serpent; the God-man suffers, sometimes dies; yet is finally victorious, and great good accrues to others (in the ethnic religions this good is limited) through his triumph." Let this suffice.

We have, then, first, the universal anticipation of a Redeemer; second, the recognition of this anticipation by the earliest as well as latest prophets of the Hebrews, and by Jesus and his apostles. There is common ground between these, on the one hand, and the Gentiles on the other; in fact, the burden of the Old Testament prophecy and New Testament preaching addressed to the Gentiles is the identification of the "Holy One of Israel" as "He that should come."

It is further established by comparison, and assumed here, that these religions and the Hebrew have the same historic basis. The stories of creation, the garden, the flood, and the dispersion are in substantial agreement, so close as to preclude any accounting for except on the ground of identical facts. This circumstance of agreement on these several points be-

tween these religions as found in the old ethnic Bibles is dwelt on by a certain class of writers with the purpose of shaking our faith in the Hebrew Bible. They put it with the others in a catalogue in which all are of equal value. They tell us that these traditions, and the God idea, and the Messianic idea, came into the Hebrew religion from these other older religions, and that, therefore, their claims to original inspiration (if, indeed, there be any such thing) are the stronger and clearer.

We hold, however, that to make this out they invert and falsify history, and overlook the most striking characteristic of the Hebrew Bible. By way of reply to their allegation we shall, in the first place, determine, as nearly as may be possible, the chronology of these religions, and the fundamental ideas of each. It may turn out as the result of our investigation that the religion of the Hebrews and these other religions are branches from an original stalk, or that this is the topping of the stalk from which the others are branches. If so, one part of the allegation, namely, that the Hebrew idea is derived from them, will have been answered. Then, if we can point out a distinguishing feature of the Hebrew Bible that will justify us in taking it out of the catalogue, we shall have answered the other part. To these points we direct our efforts.

When Abraham left Haran he traveled westward, separating himself from his own family and kindred. He was of the family of Shem. He went out with a monotheistic idea and the promise of a Redeemer in the line of *his* seed. While his descendants tarried in Canaan, afterward in Egypt, and still later in Babylon, they did not imbibe to any extent the religious ideas of their neighbors and masters, but remained peculiar, and were hated on account of their peculiarity. They neither absorbed nor were absorbed. During all the course of Jewish history they remained peculiar and separate. Occasionally, before the captivity, going after Baal or Moloch, their ancestral religion still distinguishes them, and they are brought back to it by one or another means. Jewish history, in fact, is the history of the maintenance and development of the religious ideas with which Abraham started—the unity of God, and the promise of a Redeemer in the line of his posterity. It tells how these people came in contact with others without being denationalized, and how their peculiar religious ideas came in con-

tact with others without being eclipsed or essentially modified in the contact.

But we must go backward beyond Abraham. We must go backward to the time when the whole earth was of one speech and one language. (Gen. xi, 1.) We must find that then, when they had a common religion, ONE God, and one hope of a Redeemer, were its fundamental ideas. We must trace these ideas that are common and fundamental to the religions of the world back to this time and place as their starting. Criticism has well established that the Book of Job is the oldest of the Semitic books. Let us examine it first. It contains these ideas clearly, the unity of God and the anticipation of a Redeemer. It contains some other things that fix its date. Job mentions four constellations as in their oppositions, (xxxviii, 31-33,) and President Gouget ("Origin of Laws," Edinburgh, 1761) makes a calculation by the processional cycle which fixes the date at 2136 B. C. Dr. Brinkley, of Dublin, repeats the calculation and brings it out six years later. Hales repeats Brinkley's calculation, and mentions another by Decoutant, which makes it forty-two years later still, or 2088 B. C. Job was of the family of Shem, of the offshoot of Joktan, and not in the Messianic line. See Gen. xxvi, 29, where Job-ab is Job with the title of dignity, *ab.* Kolreiff ("Chronologia Sacra," Hamburgh, 1724. cited by Wolfius) identifies Job with Melchizedek, King of Salem; Shuckford ("Sacred and Profane History," vol. i, pp. 263, 264) makes Job contemporary with Serug, preceding Abraham in birth by perhaps one hundred and thirty years. He also identifies Job with Cheops, the builder of the great Pyramid in Egypt. Joktan resided in Arabia. Thence came the prince who "conquered Egypt without a battle" and built the Pyramid. It may be, and there are strong internal evidences in Job's book in support of the suggestion, that Job was that prince. In Egypt he may have endured his affliction, after which he lived one hundred and forty years, and thence emigrated to Canaan, where he founded Salem.

Dr. Owen ("Theologumen") assigns the book to a period immediately preceding Abraham. Ewald ("History of Israel," vol. i, p. 231) says, "It is clear that these people, who had very recently displaced the old Canaanites in Palestine, were of the Semitic race." Wilkins observes that Abraham, "on his arrival,

found the population consisting at least in large measure of tribes with which he would have close affinities of blood and language. . . . We find him conversing with Melchizedek, negotiating with the children of Heth, and making a treaty with Abimelech without any reference to an interpreter," ("Phœnicia and Israel," pp. 3–10.) "Probably the movement from the country about the Persian Gulf, of which the history of Abraham furnishes an instance, had been going on for some time before he quitted Ur, and an influx of emigrants from that quarter had made Shemitism already predominant in Syria and Palestine at the date of his arrival." (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i, p. 537.) The biblical account of Abraham's visit to Melchizedek, the king and priest of Salem, is familiar. (Gen. xiv, 18; Heb. vii, 1.) If these probabilities be worth any thing we can account for the preservation of this book of Job's experience in the family of Abraham, and its introduction into the Sacred Canon, as well as for the otherwise unaccountable digression of the historian in mentioning the family of Joktan in Genesis x.

Abraham had but just located himself in Canaan when Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, and his confederates, made their expedition of war. They were driven back by him with the loss of their captives and booty. (Gen. xiv.) "The monumental records of Babylonia bear marks of an interruption in the line of native kings about the date which from Scripture we should assign to Chedorlaomer, and point to Elymais (or Elam) as the country from whence the interruption came. We have mention of a king whose name is on good grounds identified with Chedorlaomer as paramount in Babylonia at this time, a king apparently of Elamitic origin, and he bears in the inscriptions the unusual and significant title of "Ravager of the West." Our fragments of Berosus give us no names at this period; but his dynasties exhibit a transition at about the date required, which is in accordance with the breaks indicated by the monuments. We thus obtain a double witness to the remarkable fact of an interruption of pure Babylonian supremacy at this time, and from the monuments we are able to pronounce that the supremacy was transferred to Elam, and that under a king, the Semitic form of whose name would be Chedorlaomer, a great expedition was organized, which proceeded to the distant

and then almost unknown, west, and returned after "ravaging," but not conquering, those regions. (See George Rawlinson's "Evidences," pp. 73, 74, and notes.) Sir H. Rawlinson ("Monarchies," vol. i, p. 160) says:

> A king whose court was held at Susa led, in the year B. C. 2286, (or a little earlier,) an expedition against the cities of Chaldea, succeeded in carrying all before him, ravaged the country, took the towns, plundered the temples, and bore off into his own country, as the most striking evidence of victory, the deities which the Babylonians especially reverenced. This king's name, which was Kudur-Nakhunta, is thought to be the exact equivalent of one which has a world-wide celebrity, to wit, ZOROASTER. Now, according to Polyhistor, (who here certainly repeats Berosus,) Zoroaster was the first of the eight Median kings who composed the second dynasty in Chaldea, and occupied the throne from about B. C. 2286 to 2052 . . . after which we hear no more of the Medes, the sovereignty, it would seem, being recovered by the natives. The coincidences of the conquest, the date, the foreign dynasty, and the name Zoroaster, tend to identify the Median dynasty of Berosus with a period of Susanian supremacy which the monuments show to have been established in Chaldea at a date not long subsequent to the reigns of Urukh and Ilgi, and to have lasted for a considerable period.

Without adducing any thing further, we have these points: 1. Zoroaster, from Elam, overran and subdued Chaldea; 2. Between one hundred and two hundred years afterward Abraham got out from Haran into the land which God had promised him; 3. Chedorlaomer, probably the last successor of Zoroaster, in attempting to extend his borders westward, encountered and was repulsed by Abraham; and, 4. After about two hundred and thirty-four years of usurpation the Elamitic supremacy in Chaldea was overcome by the natives, the usurpers driven eastward, and perhaps thence southeastward down the east coast of the Persian Gulf into Persia. Here we find the religion of Zoroaster. We should have guessed from the contempt with which he treated the gods of the Babylonians that he was a monotheist. We might infer the same from the removal of Terah, Abraham's father, who could not enjoy his household gods under the usurper. But we shall determine from a glance at the direct testimonies.

Zoroaster, in person, did not lead the migration into Persia. It appears upon laying together facts that are as well authenticated as any of this time can be, that this movement followed

soon upon the overthrow of Elamitic (Medo-Bactrian) supremacy in Chaldea. Then his religion was not introduced there by himself, but by his followers. Duncker gives at length ("*Geschichte des Alterthums*," book ii) the reasons which prove Zoroaster and the Zend-Avesta to have originated in Bactria. Haug maintains that the language of the Zend-Avesta is Bactrian. Thalheimer ("Ancient History," p. 61) says:

The Persians held the reformed religion taught by Zoroaster, a great lawgiver and prophet who appeared in the Medo-Bactrian kingdom long before the birth of Cyrus. (In his time) in every part of the East the belief in one God and the pure and simple worship which the human family had learned in its original home had become overlaid with false mythologies and superstitious rites. The teachings of Zoroaster divided the Aryan family into its two Asiatic branches, which have since remained distinct. The Hindus retained their sensuous nature-worship, of which Indra, Mithra, Vá-yu Agni, Armata, and Soma, were chief objects. . . . Zoroaster taught the supremacy of a living Creator, a person and not merely a power, whom he called Ormazd. . . . No image of any kind was seen in Persian temples, [after this reformation.]

Dr. Martin Haug, the most competent linguistic critic, suggests the fifteenth century B. C. as the date of the most primitive Iranic compositions, which form the chief if not the sole evidence of an Iranic cultivation; but by this we think he means that then the Vedic and Zoroastrian, and perhaps other, fragments were first collated, as were the fragments of Semitic tradition and literature by Moses, for the Vedic hymns are certainly older. They began to be written possibly three hundred years before the settlement of Zoroaster's followers in Persia.

This brings us very near the time we seek, and in these, probably the oldest compositions, we find strongest support of our position. In the Vedas the principal deity is INDRA, which name expresses the idea that God alone exists as the source of all being. It is of precisely the import of the name Jehovah gives himself in the burning bush—I AM THE I AM. Indra is called upon as the "God of the fathers." Colbrooke says, "The ancient Hindu religion recognizes but one God, not yet sufficiently discriminating the creature from the Creator." In one hymn of the Rig Veda it is said, "They call Him Indra, Metra, Varuna, Agni. . . . That which is One

the wise call it many ways." In another, "In the beginning there arose the source of the golden light. He was the only born Lord of all that is. He established the earth and the sky." Dr. Gogerly, regarded as the best living Pali scholar, and other trustworthy critics, are agreed that the ground of the Brahminic religion is monotheistic. It is a protest against nature worship, a reformation, asserting the existence of a single source of being and a single object of worship. It is an attempt to return to the religion of the Vedic and Zoroastrian age, in the face of Buddhism, which was itself a revolt against pantheism. The former became mystic, the latter ritualistic. Neither of these is older than 600 B. C.

Referring now to Confucius, authorities fix the date of his living at 550–480 B.C. He was simply a moral and political reformer, who superadded to the traditions and literature of the fathers his own maxims. (See "Life of Confucius," by Legge.) With this mention we dismiss him, and go backward to find that the earliest religion of the Chinese has in it the same fundamental ideas as the others. Dr. Legge tells us that in the "Five King" and "Four Shoo," the oldest religious books, the name of God is "Te," or "Shang-te," and that it represents a personal, moral governor. But the best authorities do not date these books earlier than 2000 B.C. Hoang-te was the first emperor. His reign succeeded the period of the dispersion, and may be dated possibly 2600–2700 B.C. Foo-he and Shing-nong were probably patriarchs of the tribe which first migrated from Central Asia eastward—possibly 3000 B.C. Between this date and the other is the heroic age of the Chinese. It is a period of wandering, in which most likely the second, or third, or even fourth, generation was involved. (See "Patriarchal Age," p. 441, *et seq.*) They carried with them the learning and traditions of the ancestral home; and these are the basis of the religious system found in their oldest books. But they were settled in China perhaps five hundred years before Zoroaster lived, and seven hundred before Abraham. Getting nearer the time of "one speech and one language," we do not get farther away from the monotheistic idea.

Turning to Egypt, we find in the coffins of the mummies rolls of papyrus, fragments of the "Book of the Dead," prob-

ably of 1900 B.C. Translated, they read: "I am the Most Holy, the Creator of all that replenishes the earth, and of the earth itself, the habitation of mortals. I am the Prince of the infinite ages. I am the great and mighty God; the Most High, shining in the midst of the careering stars, and of the armies which praise me above thy head," etc. Rawlinson ("Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, p. 244) says: "The Egyptians adopted a pantheism, according to which (while the belief in one supreme God was taught to the initiated) the attributes of the Deity were separated under various heads, as 'the Creator,' 'Divine Wisdom,' the 'Generative,' and other principles; and even created things, which were thought to partake of the *divine essence*, were permitted to receive divine worship." But this pantheism is not the oldest religion of the Egyptians. Professor Grimm, of Berlin, one of the best-accredited mythologists of our time, writes: "The monotheistic form appears most ancient, and that out of which antiquity formed polytheism. . . . All mythologies lead to this conclusion." M. Adolphe Pictet says: "To sum up: Primitive monotheism, of a character more or less vague, generally passing into a polytheism, still simple—such appears to have been the religion of the ancient Aryans." * This last remark holds equally good of the Turanians, under which name are included the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and of the tribe of Assur in the Semitic stock. Polytheism, wherever we find it, is an attempt to represent and explain the diversity of manifestation of the ONE SUPREME, as Aristotle says: "God, though he is one, has many names, because he is called according to the states in which he enters." Really it appears, as we glance over the field, that Abraham and his posterity are the real conservators of monotheism—the "topping of the original stalk," which has its roots in the place whence the families dispersed.

Now, Sir H. Rawlinson says, in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," speaking of the different races of Western Asia: "It is a pleasing remark, that if we were to be guided by the mere intersection of linguistic paths, and, independently of all reference to the scriptural record, *we should be led to fix on the plains of Shinar as the focus from which the various*

* Both these authorities are cited from the Quarterly Review, January, 1876, page 43.

lines had radiated." And we say, that, standing on the western, southern, or eastern shore of Asia, under the shade of the Pyramids, or on Mount Zion, and running our eye along the lines of religious development, we should fix upon the same point as that of *their* intersection. From this point the families of the sons of Noah diverge, each carrying the traditions and memories of the old home, and embodying them in sacred books, where we find them—covered deep with the fancies of vain imaginations and the conceits of unclean lust, to be sure; but there they are, these same original ideas of God and a Redeemer to come, like gems in a mine, glittering in the light thrown down upon them by recent research.

What shall we say, then? "Shall we," asks a recent writer, "push aside all the other sacred books of the world: the Hindu and Persian Bibles, both older than our own; the Buddhist Bible, held sacred by more people than hold to the Christian (Jewish) Bible; the Chinese Bibles, ancient and venerable books; . . . shall we push all these aside, and say, There is no voice of God in them? For one I dare not do that!" We say, also, We dare not do that. Nevertheless, we do not hold these venerable books and the Jewish Bible on the same ground —we observe a difference. We find in them the same substratum of divine revelation and historic fact as in it. We find truth in them, and we

> "Seize upon truth wherever found,
> On Christian or on heathen ground.
> * * * * *
> The plant 's divine where'er it grows."

We can account for the truth we find in them—as we have done—and we are supported by plain allusions in our Hebrew and Christian Bible to the existence of this truth among the Gentiles. Isaiah says, in chapter liv, last verse, "This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord." Paul and Barnabas, in their speech to the enthusiastic people of Lystra, said, "God . . . who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways . . . left not himself without witness." We recall, also, the striking remark of Jesus, "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold." He said that before the Gospel had been preached to the Gentiles, in fact, before there was any Gospel

to preach, for he had not yet accomplished his mission to Jerusalem. If we think we are giving a wide extension to our charity when we include other Christian denominations in the fold, we must extend it still more to include these "other sheep."

We have said that the basal ideas of the pre-Abramic religion were the unity of God and the anticipation of a Redeemer. In so far as these ideas are retained in the religions that have grown from that stalk they are true and divine religions. We do not know where to draw the line of distinction until polytheism creeps in, and the "host of heaven" begin to be worshiped. But in Abraham's time polytheism had already grown somewhat; Zoroaster had shown his contempt for the *deities* of the Babylonians by carrying them off. He himself was a monotheist.

Terah, Abraham's father, was an idolater, but appears to have fallen into idolatry after having been a monotheist. At any rate neither Abraham nor his cousin Lot, who was a member of Terah's household, were tinged with the heresy. In fact, their going West was a protest against the polytheistic tendency of the times and country. It was just the fidelity and tenacity with which Abraham held this cardinal idea—the unity of God—that fitted him for the call he received. The other idea—the anticipation of a Redeemer—was held by all in the midst of their polytheism, and has not since been lost. But Abraham received with his call a promise that it should be in *his seed* that all the nations of the earth should be blessed, that is, in the line of his posterity the Redeemer should come. This idea *he held alone*, and it became, with the others, a fundamental idea in *his* religious system. These three ideas, then, are to be found embodied in the sacred books of Abraham's posterity: 1. The unity of God; 2. The promise of a Redeemer; and, 3. The *fixedness* of the Redeemer in their line of descent. The first two may be found in other sacred books: *the third cannot.*

From the very nature of the case God must have selected some one family from which the promised Redeemer should come, and in which the world's common hope should be realized, or the world's common hope must have been disappointed. Why he selected Abraham is apparent. The correct

ness of Abraham's ideas and his tested fidelity constituted his special fitness. It was a case of "electing love," based on reasons. God loved him and elected him *because he was true*, and because, *from the nature of the case, an election must be made.* It was not an election of exclusion on any other ground than *untrueness.* It was an election in the benefits of which *all* were to participate, and in which *all* were *equally* interested.

From this time forward this idea distinguishes Abraham and his posterity, and, as might be expected, they *lived* to it. It develops and determines them; they are what they are because of it. Their history, as we have it in the Old Testament, is the history of the molding and unfolding of an idea—not the idea of God the Creator, nor of the unity of God, nor of a Redeemer to come, for the Hebrew Scriptures are not solitary in either of these ideas—but the idea of a Redeemer *fixed* in their own line of descent. In this they are solitary. As distinct conceptions of God the Creator, (though not so abundant and unvaried,) of God the ONE, of a promised Redeemer, and as high moral precept, may be found in the Zend, the Tripitaka, the Five King, or the old mythologies, as in the Hebrew Bible. We concede this point, but we assert this difference: that *in none of them is the line of the Redeemer* FIXED *as it is in the Hebrew tradition and Scripture.* The Chinese Scriptures, we are told, contain prophecies of a Chinese Messiah, and the Hindu Scriptures contain like prophecies of a Hindu Messiah. But these prophecies are not so specific as to give precise direction to the anticipation; they are not so specific as to bar the claims of one coming from any other than a given direction. The point of divergence of the Hebrew Scriptures from these others, is the point where the former begin to be specific—when Abraham received that promise. As we follow this promise on down we observe that it becomes more specific as it is frequently reiterated. It is fixed in Isaac, then in Jacob, then in Judah, then in David, in Bethlehem, and in Nazareth—in a point of time, and other conditions so precise, and the conjunction of which is so singular, that while they may have been miscalculated beforehand there can be no difficulty in determining them *after* the event. But so precise were these conditions in the promise that we actually find the wise and pious among the Jews, and those of the far East who had kept

abreast the unfolding of the idea in the Hebrew literature, all looking in one direction at the same time. In passing, we observe that the separations of Judah and of David and of Mary were not more exclusive of the other tribes and families and individuals of the descendants of Abraham than was the separation of Abraham exclusive of other nations—the coming Redeemer was *for the world.*

Now, with all the unsettling of the criticism of the times, one fact has been left untouched—that Jesus of Nazareth was in the line of this promise, of the house and lineage of David, born in Bethlehem of Judea, at a point of time when the prophetic dates of the Hebrew people were running out. The scepter was not to depart from Judah "till Shiloh (the Sent) come."

There may be a discrepancy in the genealogical *table*, but not in the *line*, and the descent of Jesus in the *line* cannot be gotten over; and, make just what we please of it, it still remains unchallenged, that Jesus was born at Bethlehem. But it is foreign to our present purpose to follow out the conditions of the promise, and show how they are precisely met in the incidents of the birth of Jesus. All we mean to say is, that, think what we may of the pretensions of Jesus to divinity, or of his philosophy, if the Jewish anticipation of a Redeemer, the anticipation raised first by the promise in the garden, fixed in the line of Abraham's posterity, and defined more precisely by the later prophets—if this anticipation be not met in Jesus of Nazareth, it is not met at all in Jewish history. Jewish history is sealed with all these definite promises in it, and to-day none stands before the world claiming to have met them, except Jesus of Nazareth.

Another fact must be looked in the face, namely, neither the Hindus, nor Chinese, nor any other religionists, save the Christians, have a New Testament,—we mean a book filling the place in their system that the New Testament fills in ours.—a literature that is the outgrowth of the idea that the promise of a Redeemer *has been met*, and that has for its basis the story, and for its central idea the unfolding of his life. Furthermore, they *cannot* have a New Testament. Why? Their Bibles are closed without any such precisely defined and limited promise concerning the Redeemer as are found in the Hebrew Bible.

The anticipation is so vague that it would be impossible for any character to meet it and establish his claim. Hence, no character among them pretends to meet it. Their idea does not grow into a Jesus of Nazareth, and they have no Jesus of Nazareth, and no niche fitted for the reception of such a character. In their traditions and literature their anticipation must have been more precisely defined, and it must have run until one arose to answer to it, in order to make a New Testament literature possible. The significance of these facts is that, if the world-wide anticipation of a Redeemer do not issue in the Hebrew line, it has no issue *else*where, and if, in this line, it do not issue in Jesus of Nazareth, it has no issue *any*where. *There is no Redeemer unless in Israel, and none in Israel unless Jesus of Nazareth.*

What a shallow analysis of these several Bibles, that does not discover in the Hebrew Bible this idea developing and issuing that does not develop and issue in the others! If we take it out we have perhaps only what the Hindus and Chinese have. But this one, beginning where they did, with the undefined promise of a Redeemer, has become definite and developed into Christianity, while those have no development at all. This promise *fixed* is the central idea of the Hebrew literature; it is the idea around which all else of incident in the history of that people stands, as the scaffolding stands around the cathedral tower at Cologne. When it issues complete in a character the scaffolding is removed out of sight, and *all the world* directed to look to Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfillment of its hope. "Thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel."

We draw hence a practical suggestion with reference to missionary work. The Old Bibles we find are only incomplete; our New Testament is supplemental to them. *Our* Jesus is the Redeemer *they* anticipate. We shall not dethrone their conceptions, but enthrone Jesus of Nazareth. Assuming redemption anticipated, it is to be declared a *fact*. Their religion is not *all wrong*. It will be righted, as is the imperfect religion of the Hebrews, by the story of the Cross.

> "Waft, waft, ye winds, the story,
> And you, ye waters, roll,
> Till, like a sea of glory,
> It spreads from pole to pole."

We understand now, as we never did before, "the mystery which has been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made known to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles;" and we gather somewhat of the meaning and force of the promises to *bring back the nations*, and to gather together in one all things in Christ. We begin to have a more distinct idea of the extent of Christ's fold; and yet we shall doubtless be surprised when he brings those "other sheep" in, to see them coming up from every nation under the sun, "bringing their glory and honor into it." But they will come, more of them than of the children of Abraham, for "more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife." Cut off! Excluded by the election! No, no! "In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer."

Finally, let the truth stand out clearly, that God has kept his word, and, of the richness of his grace, provided for the redemption, not only of Israel, but of the whole world, through Jesus of Nazareth, his Christ!

Art. III. — SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By Edward Hartpole Lecky. Two volumes. London. 1878.

Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges. By John Stoughton, D.D. Two volumes. London. 1878.

History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. By Leslie Stephen. Two volumes. London. 1877.

Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot. By John Morley. London. 1872–78.

English Men of Letters, 1877–80: Hume, by Professor Huxley; Defoe, by Arthur Minto; Johnson, by Leslie Stephen.

Religious Thought in England. By Rev. John Hunt. Three volumes. London. 1871.

"The withered, unbelieving, second-hand eighteenth century." So Mr. Carlyle calls it, and repeats the estimate with infinite variety of emphatic epithet through all his writings. Some such opinion has been, until lately, the common one. The last century, we have been told, was not an age of faith, of virtue,

or of heroism. Coleridge has taught us that its philosophy was shallow and materialistic. Wordsworth and De Quincy have pronounced its literature cold and artificial, and, with something of contempt, have denied to Pope and his school the name of poet. Men differing as widely in creed as Newman, Maurice, and Martineau have alike confessed that its religion was faithless and lifeless. And yet, depreciate the last century as we may, it is certain that no period seems to be of greater interest to all students of English thought. Even Mr. Carlyle, though he has never ceased to berate it, has never ceased to study it. Such recent works as those mentioned at the head of this article attest the present attractiveness of the century to eminent men of widely different schools of thought. Nor can any careful reader have failed to notice that, during the last fifteen years, the popular estimate of the character and value of eighteenth-century thought has greatly changed. The period of reaction which began with Wesley in religion, with Coleridge in philosophy, and with Cowper and Burns in poetry, seems to be nearly at an end. The spirit of the last century is again returning upon us; and we may notice in all quarters an increasing sympathy with its temper and its methods. It may be of interest, therefore, to inquire, What were some of the characteristic features of the century? It will be the purpose of this paper to point out two or three of them, so far as they may be discovered by a rapid glance at English philosophy and literature of the period.

It should be said, however, at the outset, that most of the tendencies in thought commonly ascribed to the eighteenth century were in operation somewhat before its opening, and culminated somewhat before its close. Great movements in human thought are not sudden, but gradual, and cannot be sharply divided into periods; least of all will the dividing-lines of the centuries fitly mark such periods. In reality, what is to be said of the eighteenth century applies with more exactness to a period extending from about 1690 to about 1790.

No reader of eighteenth-century literature can fail to discern, as a first characteristic of the thought of the age, a tendency to exalt the logical reason at the expense of the intuitions, the imagination, and the emotions. There was a universal passion for clearness and plausibility, a disposition to narrow the range

of knowledge in order to obtain within that limited field greater clearness of vision. The sphere of exercise for the faculties once thus sharply defined, the thought of the age decided, with convenient assurance, that outside those limits there is nothing to be known. In the familiar opening passage of his treatise, (which, by the way, although "On the Human *Understanding*," pretends to cover the whole of our knowledge,) Locke says: "I thought it well to know the range of our own powers, that we might be cautious in meddling with things beyond our apprehension, and sit down in quiet ignorance of those things beyond our capacities." The writers of the time of Anne and the early Georges are constantly gratulating themselves upon the good sense of their own day. "Sense and wit," are Pope's cardinal virtues. "I have great respect for Paul," said Anthony Collins; "he was a man of sense and a gentleman." This tyranny of the understanding is evident in every department of thought. In theology all parties were content to assume the supremacy of reason; no questions were discussed or even entertained save on the supposition that they were to be appreciated and adjudged by the unwarmed reason alone. All literature was measured, not by its insight, its emotional warmth, or imaginative elevation, but by its conformity to those rules which the unaided understanding is competent to impose. In practical life, likewise, it is curious to notice the same ambition for a reasoned moderation, for philosophical regulation of life, for conduct that could not be charged with "folly." There was, in short, a universal impatience of any thing like transcendentalism in philosophy, mysticism in theology, enthusiasm in practical religion. The two texts, it is said,* on which most sermons were preached in England, during the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, were, "Let your moderation be known unto all men," and "Be not righteous over much."

A second characteristic, and one naturally growing out of that just mentioned, is a certain superficiality and thinness in much of the thinking of the century. Discussion upon all subjects was popular, very much more popular than ever before. The philosophy of the age, such as it was, descended into the street. Every question that was thought of interest at all was

* Hunt's "History of Religious Thought in England," vol. iii, p. 291.

debated at the club, in the coffee-house, in the drawing-room. But the tone of discussion was such as befitted those places. There was, indeed, not merely a general mental activity, but on some matters a fruitful activity. Physical science saw some of its noblest triumphs during the century. History began to be studied and written in a more intelligent way. Something like a school of political economy was founded. In short, wherever the activity of the age could exert itself on concrete facts and phenomena, in the realm of science as opposed to philosophy, it was fruitful. But the profound and ever-recurring questions of philosophy which demand depth as well as clearness of vision, were either given over as useless and perplexing, or, more commonly, received easy and plausible but not satisfactory answers. This disposition to give shallow and — if I may borrow a word of that time more expressive than elegant—"cock-sure" solutions to the deepest problems, shows itself perhaps most frequently in ethical and theological discussion. Readers of Butler will remember the natural impatience with which he speaks of the "loose kind of deism common among men of pretended learning and wit." In Berkeley's "Alciphron," Lycicles, the young freethinker, is made to say:

> Our philosophers are of a very different kind from those awkward students who think to come at knowledge by poring on dead languages and old authors, or by sequestering themselves from the cares of the world to meditate in solitude and retirement. . . . I will undertake a lad of fourteen, bred in the modern way, shall make a better figure, and be more considered in any drawing-room, or any assembly of polite people, than one at four and twenty who hath lain by a long time at school or college. He shall say better things in a better manner, and be more liked by good judges. Where doth he pick up this improvement? Where our grave ancestors would never have looked for it—in a drawing-room, a coffee-house, a chocolate-house, at the tavern or groom-porter's. In these and the like fashionable places of resort, it is the custom for polite people to speak freely on all subjects, religious, moral, or political; so that a young gentleman who frequents them is in the way of hearing many instructive lectures, seasoned with wit and raillery, and uttered with spirit.*

A similar disposition shows itself in political discussion. The old high traditional notions as to the nature of government had been pretty much overturned by the revolutions of

* "Alciphron," Dialogue i.

the previous century. By the unprecedented changes culminating in the Revolution of 1688 the whole question of the nature of the monarchy and the relation of the different branches of the government to each other had been brought into popular and reasoned discussion. The divinity that doth hedge a king was unknown in England after 1688. An immense increase in the deference paid to private judgment had rendered political traditions, as well as all other traditions, of little weight, and had incited a freedom of speech that often passed into license. Never was political discussion so rife in England as in the first half of the last century; and never before or since was it so rancorous, so shallow, and so confident. England was filled with pamphlets; but it would be difficult to point to any one of them written between 1700 and 1750 that shows any real wisdom.

It is to be further noticed, that the thought of the age was, for the most part, practical rather than speculative. It was controlled by prudential considerations, and aimed at immediate material results. This disposition shows itself in many ways: in the constant intrusion of the didactic element into polite literature, in the growth of a utilitarian ethics, and, perhaps more strikingly than anywhere else, in the universal tendency to enforce sound belief on low prudential grounds. "It's *safer* to believe there is a God," argued the timid orthodoxy of that day, "because at all events there *may* be one; and if there is, he will damn you if you don't." * In all departments of thought, among men of all shades of belief, the century shows, as Mr. Pattison says, "human attainment leveled to the lowest secular model of prudence. Practical life as it was, was the theme of the pulpit, the press, the drawing-room." † Such a spirit in no wise loses its reward. Measured by its material prosperity only, the period was certainly a most fortunate one. Hallam says that the forty years following the peace of Utrecht (1714) were the happiest in English history. It is, indeed, just this practical tendency which a certain school of modern thinkers most admire. "Intellectually," says Mr. Morley, in his "Life of Diderot," "it was the substitution of things for

* See this motive elaborated, for instance, in some of South's sermons, notably in one entitled "The Practice of Religion Enforced by Reason."

† "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England," "Essays and Reviews," p. 52[illegible]

words." But it seems hardly possible for any one to read the history of the last century without discovering that such an interest in "things" leads to a subordination of all higher matters to lower, to selfishness, narrowness of vision, and meagerness of life.

As a fourth characteristic, we may notice that the thought of the century, so far as it was speculative at all, was critical and destructive rather than constructive. It seems to be an inevitable law of human progress that the advance of thought shall not be constant but intermittent. To a period of enthusiasm, of faith, of philosophic insight, is sure to succeed a longer period during which mental activity is chiefly directed to the criticism of accepted beliefs. The acquisitions of the one period are subjected to the sifting scrutiny of the next. An age of faith is followed by an age of skepticism. Now, the first three fourths of the last century afford, perhaps, the best example in modern times of a typical age of skepticism. Its work was to prove all things, in the narrowest logical sense of that phrase, and it held fast nothing, however good, that would not submit itself to this process. Such activity, though important, must always be partial and one-sided, and its results only corrective. The eighteenth century affords no exception to this rule. Whatever permanent results of the thought of the time remain will be found to be almost entirely in the form of negations or limitations.

The tendencies thus mentioned may be illustrated by a rapid survey of some of the most important forms of English thought. And, first, of philosophy. The main line of English philosophic thought during the century is easily traced. It begins with Locke, who is the father of modern English philosophy, as indeed of English politics, and—it is hardly too much to say—of English theology also. Two more names only make up the succession. Berkeley follows Locke, and Hume follows Berkeley, each adopting the premises of his predecessor, and urging them to further and very different conclusions. The "Essay on the Human Understanding," the "Principles of Human Knowledge," and "Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous," with the "Treatise on Human Nature," contain all that is most representative and influential in English philosophical writing for a hundred years. What it is especially to our pur-

pose to notice here, is the common tendency in all three writers to simplicity, to a purely rational method, and to a destructive criticism.

This is seen at the outset in Locke. He will get rid of fruitless discussion over words, and bring philosophy to the test of plain facts which every man may investigate for himself. His attempt was thought in his own time singularly successful. He is spoken of with general admiration throughout the century, as having given an account of our knowledge which is simple and intelligible. Locke's theory, as has been so often shown, if consistently carried out, makes a clean sweep of intuitive ideas. If all the elements of our knowledge be reducible at last to sensations, it is evident that there is no room left for time, space, cause, or self. Locke, however, is not entirely consistent. The knowledge of self he bases on an "intuitive belief;" the knowledge of God, on an irresistible inference, which inference seems itself to rest on the principle of causation.* For the principle of causation there is, of course, no place in Locke's system, though of this inconsistency he does not seem to have been aware. But once admit it, and a further question inevitably follows. Our knowledge is derived from sensations; but what causes the sensations? Do they attest a substance? Locke vacillates somewhat in his answer, but we learn, at last, that our sensations are caused by *body* or *matter*. Of this matter he affirms not only independent existence, but two kinds of qualities, primary and secondary.† Our conscious existence, then, is made up of a series of states reducible in the last analysis to sensations, and these sensations are themselves caused by an "external somewhat," unconscious, solid, extended.

Now it is just at this point that Berkeley joins issue. Locke's philosophy, in this phase, it was evident, led direct to materialism and atheism. It was eagerly accepted, not only in England, but with even greater avidity in France. Fostered by many contemporary tendencies, notably by the attention given to physical science, it was leading men to believe that the unconscious somewhat was the cause of all thought, and, hence, of all conscious mind in the universe. If it caused sensations,

* Book iv, chaps. ix, x.

† Essay, book ii, chaps. viii, xxi, xxiii, xxiv; also book iv, chaps. ii, iii.

and sensations summed up knowledge, the conclusion was short and easy, and to a lazy or immoral philosophizing satisfactory enough. It was to such reasonings that Berkeley put his great question, What do you mean by the *existence* of this external unconscious somewhat? In what sense can you call it *real?* When you apply it to such terms as power, force, cause, what can these words mean? We know Berkeley's answer. Material substance, as commonly understood, he denied. When he searched his own consciousness for evidences of it, he found none; sensations he found, but no substratum.* He was, indeed, careful to reiterate that he believed in body as truly as any one else could, in the only intelligible sense in which the word "body" can be used; but body meant to him only an assemblage of sensations in consciousness. The idea of externality, which is always a part of our conception of body, he explains by the potential sensations; for example, the possible sensations of touch inevitably brought to mind by sight of a tree yonder, and by the permanence in the relations of our sensations, which, as it evidently does not depend upon *us*, gives an idea of otherness. These two elements, according to Berkeley, really constitute our idea of externality. So far Berkeley's philosophy is destructive, and so far it has been accepted by skeptical schools of thought since. But it has a constructive side as well. In fact, the whole purpose of Berkeley's work, as I have hinted, was to counteract the materialistic tendencies of his own times, and to furnish a philosophic basis for theism, though, as might be expected from the temper of his time, this part of his work received much less attention than the destructive part.

His theistic conclusion rests on two arguments. In the first place, it would seem that, as the essence of things consists in their being perceived—*esse is percipi*, as Berkeley puts it—when not perceived by any mind the things must cease to exist; that the chair I saw five minutes ago, but which is not now seen by me or by any other conscious mind, must have ceased to exist just as truly as the toothache I had a year ago. And so it must, Berkeley admits. And yet he insists we do know (though on what warrant he does not clearly show) that bodies

* Berkeley's "Principles," sections 3–33. See also Prof. Fraser's excellent notes and illustrations in his edition of "Berkeley," and in the "Selections" of the Clarendon Press Series.

have a real and continuous existence; hence, they must exist in the thought of a divine and omniscient Mind, having there that *percipi* which is their real *esse*. Thus, we come direct to a refutation of atheism.* And, secondly, we come to the same goal by another road. Berkeley admits direct knowledge of self. We know ourselves, too, as having power, but we see that a large part of our sensations are not caused by *our* power, while yet they must be caused by some power. We have no idea of power save mind; they must, therefore, be produced by a mind, and their infinite complexity and unvarying order demand a divine Mind.†

This argument evidently postulates the principle of causation, and the knowledge of self and cause. Drop these postulates out, deny or doubt them, and the coherency of the system is lost. Now this was the point at which Hume took up Berkeley's conclusions. He claimed that the assumption of a personal self and of a principle of cause are equally without warrant. The same considerations which had induced Berkeley's denial of a material substance he urged against its subjective antithesis, a mental substance, while he found in the principle of causation nothing but a customary association between impressions and ideas. The result was, of course, entire and thorough-going philosophical skepticism. It need not be said that this philosophy, modified somewhat by the Hartleian doctrine of the association of ideas, is consistently carried out in our own century by the teaching of the two Mills. This hasty retrospect of its most familiar forms is given only as illustrating those tendencies of thought above mentioned as characteristic of the century, the desire of simplicity and clearness, the disposition to exclude from discussions all insoluble problems, and the habit of destructive criticism. Very much the same might be said of the side schools of thought—of the common-sense philosophy, for instance. It is not until the time of Coleridge that we get a form of thought essentially in opposition to the temper of the century.

But still more significant of the practical temper of the age is the wide-spread indifference to the really able philosophy of

* See the "Principles of Human Knowledge," sections 45, 48; also the "Hylas and Philonous," and the *Siris*, *passim*.

† "Principles of Human Knowledge," sections 145–156.

the day. Berkeley and Hume seem to have had no wide following. Locke was, indeed, studied and quoted with approbation throughout the century, but principally because of his apparent simplicity and his opposition to abstruseness. The truth is, the whole period was singularly averse to profound speculation. Its typical men are not deep thinkers like Locke and Berkeley and Hume; but, on the one side such club-room philosophers as Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, masters of light, superficial discussion, and, on the other side, minds of tougher fiber, but of conservative temper, like Swift and Johnson, who refused to discuss the deeper questions of philosophy, or to scrutinize very closely the rational basis of the beliefs to which they held so obstinately. Swift argues against Collins by showing, in a masterly piece of irony, the inconveniences that would result if the Christian religion were abolished. Johnson, as is well known, bluntly said that any clown might refute all Berkeley by running his head against a post; of Hume he always spoke with undisguised contempt, and Hume's fruitless philosophical speculations he termed, with more force than elegance, an attempt "to milk the bull;" in the most masterly of all his essays, he brushes away, as with a contemptuous gesture, the flimsy conjectures of Soame Jenyns on the "Origin of Evil;" but he has no solution of his own for the problem, and is manifestly irritated by the foolish efforts after one.

The same tendencies may be seen, in their most pronounced form, in those theological discussions with which the thought of the century was so largely concerned. It is, indeed, common nowadays to speak of the deistic controversy of the early part of the century as a matter of little interest or importance. Long before the close of the century Burke could exclaim contemptuously, in the well-known passage in the "Reflections on the French Revolution," "Who, born within the last forty years, has read a word of Collins, or Toland, or Tindal, or Morgan, or the whole race of freethinkers? Who now reads Bolingbroke? Who ever read him through?" No one, very likely. And yet the deistic controversy, though the noise of it soon died away, was very significant in its time, and its results were really lasting. It illustrates throughout the characteristics of the age which have been mentioned. The English theology of the previous century—the seventeenth—had,

in all its greatest specimens, been growing more and more rational. The Reformation in England, though perhaps at first a civil and moral rather than an intellectual revolt, had been, in reality, there as every-where else, an appeal to reason as against authority. Discarding tradition, religious faith and practice must base themselves on the authority of reason and on the authority of the Bible. So argues Hooker at the outset. Increasingly through that century do we find growing among the ablest thinkers a principle of toleration based on a free exercise of the individual reason. This may be seen in Milton's "Areopagitica," in Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying," in Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," and in Stillingfleet's "Irenicum."* But an appeal to reason and the Bible is virtually an appeal to reason, since the claims of Scripture itself are to be adjudged by reason. So says Chillingworth. "The Bible is to be accepted as authority in all questions save questions where its authority is concerned." This is the position of Locke, whose treatise on "The Reasonableness of Christianity" may almost be said to have been the text for all theological discussion for seventy-five years, on both the orthodox and the deist side. Grant the joint authority of reason and Scripture when they do not conflict, with the assumption that Scripture must submit to the arbitration of reason when they do; this was the stand-point of all religious controversy at the beginning of the century. *Do* they conflict? was a question then inevitable. And this necessitates the further question, What does reason sanction? What are those reasoned beliefs conformity to which must be the test of Scripture? Men differ hopelessly on many points; let us take what they agree on. We shall then have a reasonable, a natural religion.† In this your natural religion you must take, said the deists, only axioms common to all men. Whatever in revelation conforms to this can be admitted; whatever exceeds or transcends it must be supported by very strong external evidence; and whatever contradicts it cannot be received at all. The deists professed themselves Christians—whether sincerely or not has been questioned, though there seems no good reason to doubt it—and

* For an interesting treatment of the growth of this principle, see Principal Tulloch's "Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century."

† Leslie Stephen's "History of English Thought," vol. i, p. 85.

their object was not widely different from Locke's. The titles of the two best known books, Toland's "Christianity not Mysterious," and Tindal's "Christianity as Old as Creation," indicate the range and purpose of their work. They made Christianity substantially a republication of natural religion, and rejected whatever of revelation would not square with that account.

The deist controversy seems, at this distance, a very unequal one. All the speculative ability, all the social and literary prominence, were on the orthodox side. On that side were Locke, Clarke, and Warburton; Bentley, the most learned and acute of critics, Berkeley, the profoundest English thinker of the century, and Butler, whose "Analogy" may be said to have closed the controversy. Among professed men of letters the orthodox party could claim Addison, who had written in his youth a treatise on the Evidences—and it must be confessed, as Pepys would say, a "mighty weak one"—and who, later in life, systematically wrote down the deists in the "Spectator," and even in his comedies;* Dick Steele, who contributed to the controversy "Christian Hero;" Swift, who in one of the very finest of his satirical papers covered with ridicule the deist Collins; and other names only a little less eminent than these. On the deist side the writers were men now forgotten, and, it would seem, not deemed of very great ability or learning in their own day. Some of them confessed, even in their criticisms of Scripture, that they had no language but their mother tongue. Socially they were, with one or two exceptions, unknown men. Their little, shriveled books are now almost unattainable; and the general reader is forced to study them, if indeed he care to study them at all, in some such full abstract as that given by Mr. Hunt in his "History of Religious Thought."† From such antagonists it may seem that the defenders of orthodox theology should have had little to fear; and we are apt to be surprised that they were so apprehensive. A little study, however, suffices to show that the importance of the attack cannot be measured by the ability manifest in the printed works of those deists who came to the front, nor even by the ability of these men themselves. The danger lay in the universal diffusion of such views. They were in the air. They

* In "The Drummer," for instance. † Vol. ii, chaps. ix, xi.

gained, perhaps, no very able defenders, but they were on every body's lips. Every body understood the deist questions: every body asked them. Accordingly, we find the ablest apologists concerned not so much to answer any particular book as to check, if possible, the tide of fashionable unbelief and indifference. It is the "loose deism now current in fashionable circles" that frightens Butler. "It has come to be taken for granted by many persons," he says, "that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it has at last been discovered to be false." And the objections of the deists, it should be said, were real ones, and, in such an age, all the more dangerous; because they were not begotten of any profound thought or critical scholarship, but were rather the suggestions of men of very mediocre ability, and were level to the apprehension of the meanest capacity. In a word, they were precisely in harmony with the practical, reasoning, destructive temper of the time. The increasing geographical and astronomical knowledge, for instance, which had begun to filter down among the middle classes, suggested a series of plausible questions, so often since repeated. Christendom is a fragment of the world, and the world a fragment of the universe. Is it, then, conceivable that God should place such supreme importance on the Christian revelation?* What of that 300,000,000 of Chinese—who turn up in all the deist writings from Toland to Tom Paine—who never could have heard of Christianity? Are they damned? And if they are not, can the Christian revelation be the one absolutely necessary thing in this world or the next? The first chapters of Genesis were beginning to provoke dissent even before the birth of modern geology. How shall we explain the discrepancies of the gospels, the fulfillment of prophecy, the vindictive psalms? It was precisely because these detached objections were so simple—so puerile the orthodoxy of to-day may perhaps call them—that they were readily caught up and diffused. They were at all the dinner-tables. It is odd to read, for instance, in the "Memoirs of the Countess of Huntingdon," that "My Lord Bolingbroke was seldom in her ladyship's company without *discussing* some topic beneficial to his eternal interests." Manners are, fortunately, now changed in this particular.

* See Leslie Stephen's "History of English Thought," vol. i, chap. ii.

Doubtless such objections as these can be readily answered, but they are not essentially frivolous. They are *real* objections, and—which is the consideration here to be specially noted—they are precisely of a nature to commend themselves readily to the homely common sense of the middle class. Some matters—transubstantiation, for instance—it may be held that this homely common sense is unable to comprehend; but the question of the literal fulfillment of prophecy in the Gospels, or the question whether there was one beggar or two at the gate of Jericho, common sense feels itself quite competent to ask. The great difficulty was, as Butler saw, to get common sense to look at a system as a whole, with arguments *pro* and *con*, and not content itself with desultory attack and reply. It must be remembered that the whole deistic controversy was not so much a speculative as a practical one. It was an effort on both sides professedly, and one side in reality, to preserve to society and morals the support of religion. Nor is it easy to overestimate the value of the results flowing from the controversy. To the deist attack it may be said that we owe the work of Butler, Paley, and Lardner. A whole series of plausible questions were answered once for all. And, what was of perhaps even more importance, the grounds and limits of a rational defense of Christianity were made clear. Apologists learned not to waste their efforts in the defense of what is unessential.

But all through the century it is assumed that the reason is arbiter. As some one has said, "It would seem that Christianity existed only to be proved." The credibility of revelation is the constant topic. The mode of defense changed somewhat, indeed, after the middle of the century. As the deistic controversy subsided the work of the apologist was directed not so much to the internal evidences as to the external. The reason of the change is obvious. After it had been proved satisfactorily that there is no inherent improbability in the Scripture narratives, it remained to prove that they were genuine and authentic, to "put the apostles on trial once a week for forgery," as Johnson has it. The *a posteriori argument* naturally followed the *a priori*. Paley occupies some such position in summing up this work as Butler does in the other. But the tone and the methods of the discussion remain the

same throughout, so that the revolt against the evangelical pretensions at the close of the century was inevitable and very characteristic. Believers and unbelievers cried out together, "Enthusiasm!" And consistently. For both parties had been drawing Christianity before the bar of reason, and agreed that all its pretensions should be settled by argument; but here were men who professed to have a belief, or knowledge, or whatever you choose to call it, that was independent of reasoning or argument of any kind. They had *experienced* the Christian religion. Such pretensions were equally fatal to both parties. "They were," said Bishop Butler to Wesley, "a horrid thing, sir, a very horrid thing!"*

It may be remarked in passing that there was a wide difference between the skepticism of the last century and that of our own, and a difference which itself indicates the wider range and deeper insight of modern doubt as well as of modern belief. The deists of the last century refused to receive revelation because they found it contradictory of nature. This antagonism between nature and revelation, they said, necessitated the conclusion that revelation is false. When they attempted to explain the origin of revelation they usually had recourse to the ready hypothesis of imposture. The work of the apologist, therefore, was to reconcile nature and revelation, to find a meeting-place between them, and to show that the objections good against the latter were equally good against the former. But the skepticism of to-day, so far from finding any contradiction between nature and revelation, finds that revelation is only an outgrowth of nature, an item in the intellectual and emotional development of the race. The result is, of course, to dissipate all its *super*natural pretensions. So that the apologist of to-day has to reverse the work of the apologist of the last century. He has to show that there is a point of divergence between the natural and the revealed. The apologist of the last century labored to show that they are consistent and harmonious; the apologist of to-day must show that they are distinct, and that the one cannot be a mere

* His precise language was: "Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a *very* horrid thing!" Wesley's "Works," xxii, 270. See also Hunt's "History of Religious Thought," iii, 2. It should be said that the good Bishop's opinion of Wesley was somewhat modified in after years.

development of the other. The last century apologist argued against deists, but deists there are now few or none. Butler's "Analogy" was the book for that day; the book for our day has not yet been written, and when it is its course of argument will be the opposite of Butler's. This difference has, of course, often been stated of late; it is neatly pointed out in a recent number of the "Contemporary Review." *

The characteristics of English thought during the century find clear exemplification also in the *ethical* discussions. In looking at that most interesting of questions, the bearing of the philosophic and religious thought of the ages upon its practical life, one is struck first by the rather singular fact that all the skeptical and deistic thought of the early part of the century took a clearly optimistic direction. It assumed as a part of its natural religion, a moral sense and a moral Governor of the universe. That done, all the rest was easy enough. This complacent philosophy is seen in its most familiar form in Pope's "Essay on Man," the philosophy of which—so far as such a fragmentary and inconsistent thing can be said to have any philosophy—must be said, in spite of Warburton's bullying defense, to be deistic. It was inspired by Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, especially by the latter. And here, too, the skeptical thought of the last century was sharply in contrast with that of our own time. The skepticism of the previous age did not, indeed, realize to the full the meaning of the profoundest questions of life, and it gave them no satisfactory solution, but it did not despair of any. The skeptics had a firm faith in the efficacy of reason, and most of them persuaded themselves into an optimism which, if not logically defensible from their position, had at least some cheer in it. The thoroughly practical character of their thinking made it almost necessary that they should do so. It seemed necessary to find some support for the struggle of life. But the prevailing form of nineteenth-century skepticism is of the Positivist type. It has quite given up all attempts to solve any questions of Why and Whence and Whither. These it dismisses to the realm of the unknowable, where, unfortunately, are nearly all those things we most want to know. Discarding faith altogether, it leaves to reason

* "The Originality of the Character of Christ," by George Matheson, "Contemporary Review," for November, 1878.

only the field of positive scientific fact. The result, of course, is pessimism. It is seen clearly enough in any of the writings of our most popular scientists—Huxley, or Tyndall, or Leslie Stephen, or Kingdon Clifford. But here, too, it is easy to see that modern skepticism is the more logical and consistent. In truth, it is evident that the optimism of Pope and Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke is a very shallow thing. It was seen to be such by the ablest thinkers, even of that age. "Gentlemen," said Voltaire to a circle of friends in England after Pope's "Essay on Man" had appeared, "I beg of you to explain to me how it is that 'all is for the best,' for I cannot understand it." Two striking works of fiction near the close of the century, though written by men who cordially hated each other, are really both protests against the easy-going optimism of the early part of the century. We mean Voltaire's "Candide" and Johnson's "Rasselas." Pangloss and Candide, who travel around the world, get shipwrecked at Lisbon just before the earthquake, one of them hung by the Inquisition and the other driven an outcast over the earth, and Rasselas, who leaves his Happy Valley to find happiness, but cannot find it nor discover any one who has, are alike protests against the ready assurance that finds every thing for the best in such a world as this.

The fundamental mistake of the deists at this point lay in their assumption that if there be a Supreme Being he *must* be good. For this assumption it seems more than doubtful whether natural religion can ever find any sufficient warrant. Our philosophy, if it be consistent, *must*, indeed, drive us to a belief in a God. We need a First Cause, and we can form no conception of its nature save by adopting the idea of a personal Will; but of the moral nature of the Cause it is doubtful whether reasoning upon the phenomena of life can teach us any thing. Those phenomena, alas! afford fully as much warrant for supposing that the Cause at the spring of things is indifferent or malevolent. Hence the very curious and ineffectual reasoning upon such things in the "Essay on Man." Natural religion *ought* to be pessimistic, and, when it has the courage to be really independent of revelation, it is. The deists claimed that, in this "best possible of all worlds," whatever is, is right, and urged that all ought, therefore, to be happy; but they were confronted with the spectacle of universal dis-

order, unrest, calamity. The facts of life were too much for their philosophy, and all Mr. Pope's fine verses never could make Mr. Pope a happy man.

The main drift of ethical speculation throughout the century was clearly toward utilitarianism. Ethical doctrines were not sharply defined until about the end of the period, so that the writers are not always perfectly consistent with themselves, but the general tendency is plain enough. In a century that drew its philosophy mainly from the head-waters of Locke, it could not be otherwise. Locke, indeed, does not put any thing in the place of these moral intuitions which he sets aside, and seems inclined to make morality dependent upon the arbitrary command of a Ruler. He had, however, done the destructive work. It soon became evident that no ethics but the ethics of pure utility can consist with his philosophy. For there are but three answers, one of which, in some form or other, must be given to the question, Why should I do right? You may reply, Because it is for my interests to do so, either for my own individual interests directly, or for those of the race, in which mine are involved; and this is utilitarianism. Or you may say that to do right is the bidding of an impulse, conscience, moral sense, or whatever you choose to call it, an impulse which defies analysis, but which carries in itself its own authority—and there an end; and this is intuitionism. Or you may say that the impulse of duty is to be obeyed because it is the voice of God. The moralists of the last century almost universally gave to the question the first or the third of these answers. But, it is to be noticed, the third answer really resolves itself into the other two, for it at once suggests the further query, Why the voice of God is to be obeyed; and the final answer to this question must be either an intuitional or a prudential one. With the writers of the last century it was almost uniformly a prudential one. This may be seen, for instance, in the constant tone of pulpit discussion, in the numerous sermons in which it was argued that the *moral* unbeliever is a fool, since he sacrifices his happiness both in this world and in the next—in this world because he is moral, and in the next because he is an unbeliever.*

Near the close of the century these two phases of utili-

* This is the drift of one of Bishop Atterbury's best-known sermons.

tarianism toward which the thought of the age had been so clearly tending found embodiment in the famous work of Bentham, on the one hand, for the purely secular utilitarianism, and of Paley on the other, for the theological utilitarianism. It is plain that this utilitarian tendency, this laudation of a "rational self-love," as the phrase went, is eminently illustrative of that clearness and practicality on which we have insisted as characteristic of the temper of the age. Whatever be the nature of virtue and vice, men said, one thing is certain: men wish to be happy here, and hereafter, too, if there is any hereafter; a certain line of conduct tends to made you happy here, and probably will have the same results anywhere else. That seemed clear and practical.

It is a little curious to find that while many of the orthodox writers held to a substantially utilitarian theory of ethics, many of the deists held in a loose way to an intuitional theory. In the early part of the century the most emphatic statements of an original unreasoned moral impulse came from that side. Exalting reason, discarding revelation, the deists needed a basis for their doctrines in something, and they found such a basis in the moral intuitions. The very phrase, "moral sense," originated with Shaftesbury. This rather ill-considered form of intuitional ethics, with the flimsy optimism built upon it, is best seen in Shaftesbury's "Characteristics," or in Pope's "Essay on Man," which is only a rambling comment on Shaftesbury. The moral sense of Shaftesbury is a kind of sentiment which naturally inclines us to right as the æsthetic sense inclines to beauty. A sound theism, he claims, can follow only from a sound morality; since to believe in God is well or ill according as the God believed in is a good or a bad one. Morality is thus always prior to religion, and the basis of all religion. The theologians, indeed, often debase morality by making it dependent on reward, since the moment an action is performed from motives of interest it is virtuous no longer. As to the questions arising out of the conflict between virtue and interest, Shaftesbury meets them by roundly declaring that there is no such conflict. At this point he approaches utilitarianism. "If any one should ask me," he says, "*why* I should avoid a nasty act when no one saw me, I should think him a nasty man for asking the question; but if he insisted, why, I should say,

'Because I have a nose.' 'But if you can't smell?' 'Why, I would see myself nasty.' 'But if it is in the dark?' 'Why, then I should *know* it; my sense of the matter would still be the same.'" *

Similarly, he argues, we have a moral sense which revolts against a wrong action, whether the action have any consequences or not, and whether it is known to any one else or not. Of course, on this theory virtue ought to be very easy; the stubborn fact is, it is not. The theory is pleasing, but we must shut our eyes to believe it. Shaftesbury, like Bolingbroke fits a graceful, optimistic, natural religion upon his ethics by assuming that, of possible systems,

"Wisdom infinite must form the best,"

and deifying universal law, to which he seems to find no difficulty in sacrificing the individual.

When it is said that the orthodox theologians of the century taught a utilitarian ethics, an exception to the statement must be made in the case of Bishop Butler. Butler's three "Sermons upon Human Nature" are perhaps the most important contribution of the century to ethical discussion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the intuitional theory has ever received a more clear and forcible statement. Butler takes up the "moral sense" of Shaftesbury; but it now becomes, not a sentiment or an impulse, but an authority. In his well-known words, "Had it power, as it has authority, it would govern the world." Shaftesbury had given it a supremacy *de facto*, and had thereby brought his doctrine sharply into conflict with the facts of experience. Butler gives it a supremacy *de jure*, which is a very different thing. As a result, Butler shows nothing of the buoyant optimism of Shaftesbury; he has rather profound seriousness and melancholy.

The polite literature of the century, as a mere glance may show, exemplifies, both in its matter and its manner, that supremacy of the reason and that practical temper so characteristic of the age. At the beginning of the reign of Anne, for the first time, English writers had a really large and varied audience. There had grown up a trading middle-class of fair intelligence, whose influence in society and in politics was every

* "Wit and Humor," part iii, section 4; quoted by Stephen.

day increasing. It was evident that the government was to pass under their control. Both political parties were bidding for their support, and both parties had found that this support could be gained more surely by the press than by any other means. Men of letters gained a political influence such as they had never exerted before and have never exerted since. Then, too, the enormous growth of London had drawn together an immense number of this class of people within easy reach of the writer. In the days of Swift and Pope one tenth of the whole population of England and Wales lived within three miles of St. Paul's. And the population was more nearly homogeneous then than now; social extremes were at a less distance from each other. It is probable that the average intelligence of London was higher, and the proportion of readers to the whole population greater, during the first half of the last century, than it has ever been since. When a large portion of the reading public, and that the most intelligent portion, is thus gathered immediately around the center of government and of society, we have the most favorable condition for the growth of a literature which shall deal in brief, rapid, and effective fashion with the passing events of the day. The pamphlet of Defoe or of Swift, or the "Spectator" of Mr. Addison, would be well nigh a week old before it could reach Chester or York; but it could be laid damp from the press on a hundred coffee-house tables in London, and be read before night by a hundred thousand people. This great public was not a learned public. It knew not much of any thing; but it knew a little of every thing. It was shrewd, busy, curious. It had no imagination whatever, but it had a deal of hard common sense. To discuss all matters in a brief, lively manner, and on a level not above the understanding of such a public—this was the demand made of the man of letters. Under such a demand good prose was produced. For the first time we have a racy, idiomatic, flexible prose style, not varying too much from the easy grace of conversation. It was a new development of the powers of the language; it was an immense gain. In prose, indeed, so far as manner goes, the writing of such men as Addison and Swift leaves little to be desired.

With poetry the case was very different. Without imagination, and without any real depth of feeling, the poetry of the

age has left to it only the field of argument and reason. Hence, in the first place, its matter is hardly the matter of poetry at all, but only a metrical version of current political or philosophical discussion. In its manner, too, the tyranny of the understanding is evident. Milton or Spenser might clothe a philosophical conception in glowing imagery; but the cool intellectual criticism of this age made all such imagery seem incongruous. There was really no imagination to inform or inspire it. To the unwarmed understanding any pure work of the imagination presents, of course, incongruities enough. The "Faerie Queen," for instance, was a standing offense to the criticism of the eighteenth century. Addison says of it complacently:

> "But now the mystic tale that pleased of yore
> Can charm *our understanding age* no more."

The same temper which excluded so carefully every thing like mysticism from philosophy, or enthusiasm from religion, excluded also from poetry all irregularity of form and intemperance of sentiment. Neither the poet's eye nor the believer's must roll in any fine frenzy.

There are, however, certain literary virtues which the understanding alone can appreciate. They may be called the geometrical excellences of style—symmetry of parts, order, arrangement, clearness, careful excision of all irrelevant matter. By virtue of such qualities as these one man, and only one, attained lasting and deserved reputation as a poet. Alexander Pope had no imagination, he had neither depth nor delicacy of feeling. He had not even originality or breadth of view; but he had, in lieu of these, a pretty fancy, a severe taste, an unerring sense of literary proportion, marvelous felicity of expression, a quick eye for the weak points of an adversary, a wit as cold and keen as steel, and a clearness in the perception of detached truths hardly ever equaled—of detached truths, we say, for Pope had absolutely no logic at all. For the life of him he never could put two premises together. He secreted thought as an oyster secretes pearls. Indeed, it is evident that any considerable logical power would have been fatal to his literary skill. For it is only when truths are drawn from their connections and held up in isolation that they can be stated with the epigrammatic vigor we so much admire in Pope's couplets. The couplet

itself, as Professor Lowell has somewhere said, is a kind of thought-coop. Pope has given us more proverbs than any other English poet; but proverbs are always half-truths. It must be admitted, however, that all which it was possible to do with his themes, and in the limitations of genius under which he worked, Pope has done. One may, if he choose, deny to his verses the name of poetry, as Coleridge was fain to do; but one cannot deny that they have a perennial interest. They are the highest proof our literature affords of the supreme value of the pure art of expression. But Pope stands alone. When men of equal emotional coldness, but not of equal intellectual keenness, attempted to poetize, the result was inexpressibly dreary. Most of the poetry of his contemporaries is simply inflated prose, galvanized into a kind of life by the free use of capital letters. Their muse was Prosopopœia. Pope was right in putting them into the "Dunciad."

The criticism of the age is of a piece with its poetry. It is evident that the excellences of such poetry as Pope's are matters that can be reduced to rule and neatly expressed in maxims. Accordingly, we find the critics of the time judging their own poetry by such rules, and laboriously trying to do the same thing with that of a previous age. Addison, who had succeeded in writing a "correct" drama which nobody can read, criticises the "Paradise Lost" with infinity of platitude about plot, machinery, and such jargon, as if a poem were a piece of mechanism. Of one of the wisest and most tender of Shakespeare's plays, Samuel Johnson can only say: "The play (Cymbeline) has many just sentiments, some natural dialogue, and some pleasing scenes; but they are obtained at the expense of much incongruity. To remark the folly of the fiction, the absurdity of the conduct, the confusion of the names and manners of different times, and the impossibility of the events in any system of life, were to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility, upon faults too evident for detection, and too gross for aggravation." Such criticism as this, it is clear, can never disclose the truth or power of poetry. As well try to measure the warmth and brightness of broad sunlight with a two-foot rule.

It may be remarked that the tendencies to the reaction which, at the close of the century, worked such a revolution in

all departments of thought, made their appearance in literature earlier than anywhere else. Two marks of this reaction may be mentioned in closing this paper. Alongside of the hard, practical sense of Pope, Swift, and Addison, this sound but narrow judgment expressing itself in vigorous English without emotion and without imagination, we may discern, quite early in the century, a tendency to sentimentalism, an affectation of sentiment and emotion to take the place of the real; and this in all kinds of literature and in various ways. It may be seen, for instance, in Young's poetry, where, without a ripple of real emotion, there is a constant tumid swell and roll of mere declamation, bigness instead of greatness, pompous reflections that are utterly dreary. The "Night Thoughts" is at once the hollowest and the most resonant of poems. The same manner may be seen a little later in the frigid academic raptures of Dr. Blair's sermons. The most popular religious book of the century—one of the most popular religious books ever written—was Hervey's "Meditations Among the Tombs." * Any young readers of this generation who have chanced to look into it have probably been surprised to find it one of the most florid of books, full of sophomoric declamation of the very worst sort, and written in a tone of unctuous pathos very unedifying. In fiction a similar manner may be seen. Fielding fairly represents the sturdy common sense of the age, but Richardson is morbidly sentimental, and Sterne is sentimentalism incarnate. The same tendency in fiction, as the century drew toward its close, produced, on the one hand, the now forgotten "Rosa Matilda" school of novels, and, on the other, joined to a rather *Wardle* antiquarianism, the bugaboo stories of Horace Walpole and Mistress Anne Radcliffe. With the more healthy taste of our century the one was replaced by such novels as those of Miss Austin, and the other by the Scott romances.

The other mark of reaction referred to above is a growing dislike for the stifling air and the cramping conventionalities of city life. In the first quarter of the century one may already

* Lecky's "England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii, p. 600. No less than seventeen editions were published in seventeen years. See also Tyerman's "Oxford Methodists." Coleridge says the book was vastly popular in Germany also. Young's "Night Thoughts" and Richardson's "Clarissa Harlowe" were significantly its rivals for popular favor there.

hear some first words of that new gospel of nature so soon to be preached by Rousseau. It is odd to find in the most artificial poetry of the time a fanciful admiration for that ideal age of nature and of freedom "when wild in woods the noble savage ran," as Pope has it. Even in philosophy the same sentiment often shows itself. Those who have read Dugald Stewart's "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers" will remember his *naïve* allusions to the savage state. "The social affections," he thinks, are now not so warm "as when the species were wandering wild in their native forests." Pope, who succeeded in writing the very worst nature-poetry in the world, was only prevented by some merciful special providence from attempting "Indian Pastorals." The growth of this sentiment is attested by the popularity of Thomson's "Seasons," and by the really wide-spread interest excited by the wretched fustian of the Pseudo-Ossian. At the close of the century it finds full expression in the poetry of Cowper, of Burns, and of that greatest of all poets of nature—greatest English poet since Milton—William Wordsworth.

Art. IV.—THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCHES AND MR. GARRISON TO THE AMERICAN ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT.

[Article First.]

Several misapprehensions in regard to the great American antislavery movement, floating more or less indefinitely in the public mind, deserve correction. By many it is supposed to have been almost entirely a humanitarian evolution, deriving its inception, organization, leadership, and best support from humanitarian sources; and that its progress and final triumph were gained, not only without the aid of the Churches, but in spite of their opposition. In this false light Mr. William Lloyd Garrison's name is made to eclipse all others, as the founder of the antislavery movement, "the central and supreme figure in its group of giants,"* President Lincoln being "but the pen in Mr. Garrison's hand to write the Proclamation of Emancipa-

* Rev. William J. Potter, of New Bedford, in Parker Memorial Hall, Boston.

tion," while Garrison is "a lofty monolith," towering above Washington and Lincoln, "engraved with titles of the oldest, the highest, and the eternal." * Nothing is more absurd than such eulogies. They are unsustained by any definite bases of facts.

Without undervaluing the services of American philanthopists and statesmen, the object of this paper is to do justice to American Christianity in its relations to the antislavery movement. To no single champion are exclusive honors due. Detracting not a single iota from Mr. Garrison's merits, he will be introduced in his own time, amid his surroundings, as conspicuous among many, whose uncompromising spirit gave a sterner type to the struggle, while the services of wiser and broader leaders and different measures determined the ultimate result.

A broad survey and an intelligent analysis of the field, through the entire history of the American antislavery movement, will prepare us for a discriminating verdict. This history comprises nearly one hundred and ninety years, and is divisible into three periods: 1. *The period of irregular, unorganized agitation*, from 1675–1774; 2. *The period of organized effort, on the basis of gradual emancipation*, 1774–1832; 3. *The period of radical organized agitation*, 1832–1863.

We shall see that while the complex ecclesiastical relations of the Churches sometimes embarrassed their organic action, and exposed it to criticism, nevertheless the whole movement sprang out of the religious sentiment of the people, under the individual leadership largely of the clergy and laity, often from the formal action of the Churches, and, throughout all its phases, was sustained by the religious life of the Churches.

I. In searching through the first period of irregular and unorganized agitation (1675–1774) we find the earliest Protestant Apostle to the Indians, Rev. John Eliot, in the year 1675, memorializing the Governor and Council of Massachusetts against selling captured Indians into slavery, because "the selling of souls is dangerous merchandise;" and also, "with a bleeding and burning passion," says Cotton Mather, remonstrating against "the abject condition of the enslaved Africans." We find a body of German Quakers, in Germantown, Pa., as early as

* Rev. C. A. Bartol, D.D., Boston, "Discourse on the Death of Mr. Garrison."

1688, presenting a protest to their Yearly Meeting against "buying, selling, and holding men in slavery;" and, three years later, Mr. George Keith, also a Pennsylvania Quaker, denouncing slavery as "contrary to the religion of Christ, the rights of man," etc.; and, three years later still, the Yearly Meeting taking formal action against the introduction of slaves. We discover, in the year 1700, Samuel Sewell, Esq., subsequently Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and a deeply religious man, publishing a pamphlet entitled, "The Selling of Joseph," characterizing, with singular boldness, the system of slavery, and enunciating "the primal truths of human equality and obligation." In 1716 we notice the Quakers, in Dartmouth, Mass., memorializing the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting on the evil of slavery; and the Nantucket Society of Friends declaring that it is not agreeable to the truth to purchase and hold slaves; and, in 1729, the same Society sending a serious address on this subject to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The same year we recognize William Burling, in the Yearly Meeting on Long Island, bearing faithful testimony against slavery; and Elihu Coleman and Ralph Standifred publishing pamphlets condemning the institution as "iniquitous and antichristian;" and, eight years after, Benjamin Lay, another Quaker, pleading the cause of the bondmen, in a volume published from the press of Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia.

In 1736 we find Rev. John Wesley, in Georgia, protesting against slavery, and in 1739 Rev. George Whitefield addressing a letter to the Southern Colonies, sharply denouncing the system and its barbarities—a testimony frequently repeated in subsequent tours in America during thirty years. In the years 1755, 1756, and 1757 we notice Rev. John Wesley, and Rev. Samuel Davis, an able Presbyterian minister in Virginia, subsequently President of Princeton College, conducting a correspondence on the subject of slavery, Mr. Wesley donating to the latter books for the benefit of the colored people.

From 1746 to 1767 we trace Mr. John Woolson, a distinguished Friend in New Jersey, traveling extensively through the Middle and Southern Colonies, preaching against the practice of holding men in bondage. In the latter part of this period, Anthony Benezet, a man of practical piety, a son of

Huguenot parents, appears in the field, toiling for the enlightenment of the oppressed.

During the ten years preceding the Revolution, a desire for emancipation and the extinction of the slave-trade became very general, and found frequent utterance in pulpits and pamphlets. Nor were these efforts without apparent fruit. Many towns passed resolutions praying the colonial legislatures to take action at once in the interests of humanity; and many slave-masters, who subsequently aided in inaugurating the Revolution and in fighting its battles, became hostile to the slave-trade, and even to the existence of slavery itself. The general agitation of questions relating to the rights of man, and particularly the colonial rights, aided this movement, and made the sinfulness and wrong of slavery more apparent.

II. The period of organized effort—1774–1832—on the basis of gradual emancipation—the fruitage of the abundant seed-sowing of the previous period—commenced just prior to the Revolution.

The "Pennsylvania Abolition Society"—the first ever formed in America—entered the field in 1774, and, after a suspension for several years, during the war, reappeared in 1784. Then followed "Abolition" Societies, in New York, in 1785; in Rhode Island, in 1789; in Connecticut, in 1790; in New Jersey, in 1792; and, soon after, in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Annual National "Abolition" Conventions, comprising delegates from eight States, focalized public sentiment from 1794 to 1804, and contributed largely to the abolition of slavery in the Northern States. Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and Mason, in Virginia; Franklin and Dr. Rush, in Pennsylvania; Hamilton and Jay, in New York; Roger Sherman, in Connecticut; and many others of the strongest statesmen, the ripest scholars, and purest philanthropists in the closing quarter of the last century, were pronounced emancipationists, participating actively in abolition movements. The Pennsylvania "Abolition" Society continued in active operation down to the time when emancipation was accomplished under the Proclamation of President Lincoln. Some of the other Societies disappeared early in this century, and for fifteen years the National Conventions were suspended, but subsequently were resumed in 1824, 1826, 1828, and 1829.

With no other exhibit of this period, it might be supposed that these early organizations, and the results achieved, were due to the influence of statesmen and philanthropists, and were purely humanitarian in their character. But such a view would seriously mistake the facts and overlook the prime impulse of the movement. Christian laymen and divines constituted its best leaders and also its rank and file, furnishing its pabulum and its inspiration.

In the six years from 1770 to 1776, in the midst of which the period now under consideration opened, the antislavery efforts of several Christian gentlemen attract particular attention. In Pennsylvania, that sterling Christian nobleman, Anthony Benezet, is still in the midst of his indefatigable labors, "few men," according to Dr. Rush, "ever living a more disinterested life"—the supreme objects of his enthusiastic philanthropy, the abolition of the slave-trade and the emancipation and instruction of the negroes. He conducts evening schools in Philadelphia for their benefit, and writes, publishes, and distributes throughout the Colonies, at his own expense, tracts against slavery. He holds correspondence on this subject with Wesley, and sends letters to the queens of England and Portugal to enlist their influence against the slave-trade. His volume on "Guinea and the Slave-trade" enlightens and quickens the youthful mind of the great English antislavery reformer, Clarkson, imparting an impulse to his great life-work. Assisted by George Bryam, Esq., in 1780, the Legislature of Pennsylvania is persuaded to pass an act of emancipation—the fitting culmination of Benezet's Christian labors. Dying soon after, his valuable estate is bequeathed for the benefit of the negroes, and his example remains a beautiful illustration of the Huguenot spirit he had inherited.

In 1773 another eminent Philadelphian, Dr. Benjamin Rush, conspicuous as a Christian, a philanthropist, and a statesman, in whose house Asbury and other early Wesleyan evangelists often found a hospitable home, publishes an address on the injustice and inhumanity of slavery. The following year the first Continental Congress, while laying the foundations of the new nation, solemnly pledges that the United Colonies shall "neither import nor purchase any slaves, and will wholly discontinue the slave-trade." Soon after the North Carolina, Virginia, and

Georgia Conventions pledge their "utmost endeavors for the manumission of the slaves in their Colonies." On April 6, 1776, Congress resolves, without opposition, that "no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies." All these movements are largely credited to the influence of Dr. Rush.

But one of the most decided and resolute champions of antislavery, at the opening of this period, appears in Newport, R. I.—Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., famous for the school of theology that bore his name. A frequent witness of the landing of slaves from Africa, near his church and home, he becomes deeply stirred with the abominations of the system. As early as 1770 he boldly attacks the infamous trade in his own congregation, (deeply involved in the guilt of slave-trading and slave-holding,) sharply rebuking the sin, and pleading the cause of its victims. Through his efforts, in 1774 the further importation of negroes is prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1776 he publishes his famous pamphlet against slavery—the ablest document that had then appeared on the subject—dedicated to the Continental Congress, urging "the duty and interest of the American States to emancipate all their African slaves." Extensively circulated among the statesmen of that day, and subsequently republished and widely scattered by the New York Abolition Society, after its organization in 1785, its influence appears, as a most potential factor in molding the public sentiment of the times. As further fruits of Dr. Hopkins' labors, we find Rhode Island enacting that all children born in slavery after March, 1784, shall be free, and the Rhode Island Abolition Society formed in his house in the same year.

Three other eminent Congregationalists, two of whom, Rev. Ezra Styles, D.D., President of Yale College, and Judge Baldwin—a divine and a layman—were leading officers in the first Connecticut Abolition Society, and the other, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., one of the most vigorous preachers of the time, enter this arena of conflict for human rights, the latter boldly proclaiming the most radical antislavery doctrines, actively participating in the State and National Abolition Conventions, and, in 1795, writing the address of the National Convention to South Carolina, Georgia, and other Southern States.

Nor have the Friends, the early advocates and devoted pioneers of abolition, lost any of their antislavery zeal with the

lapse of years; but at their Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in 1774, they enact regulations against slavery more stringent than any that had preceded; and, in 1776, resolve that "owners of slaves, who refuse to execute proper instruments for giving them their freedom, shall be disowned." A few years later they drive all slave-owners from their communion —the first religious body to purge itself wholly from this great iniquity. Then they closely follow Congress with memorials, the most prominent of which were in 1783, 1790, and 1797, the latter provoking from Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, the petulant retort, that "the Quakers instead of being peace-makers are war-makers," for "they continually stir up insurrection among the negroes." The Moravians co-operated with the Friends in these early movements.

In 1774 Rev. John Wesley's celebrated tract, "Thoughts on Slavery," subsequently sown broadcast throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, during the great English emancipation movement, was published and circulated among his Societies in America. His first American itinerants were active disseminators of his antislavery views, suffering much persecution on account of them. In 1780 the Baltimore Conference declared slavery to be "contrary to the law of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society," required the traveling preachers holding slaves to promise to set them free, and advised their people to do the same. The disciplinary lines were drawn more closely by the Conferences in 1783 and 1784; and in the celebrated "Christmas Conference," in 1784, by which the Methodist Societies in America were formally organized into one Church, very stringent regulations were adopted requiring every Methodist holding slaves to execute an instrument of emancipation, or to leave the Church within one year, and allowing no slave-holder to be admitted into the Church, or to the Lord's supper, until he had complied with this requirement of emancipation, if the laws of the State admitted of freedom. The buying, selling, or giving away of slaves, except to free them, was forbidden on pain of expulsion.*

* These rules awakened great opposition, but Dr. Coke went through the South with characteristic boldness, expounding and defending them in the largest gatherings. Mobs were aroused, and on one occasion "a high-headed lady" offered to pay the rioters fifty pounds "if they would give the little doctor one hundred lashes.

Under Asbury and Coke petitions were drawn up asking the Legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina to provide for immediate or gradual emancipation. The Methodist preachers, with few exceptions, were decided emancipationists. Asbury, Coke, O'Kelley, M'Kendree, and others, preached flamingly against slavery. Emancipations became frequent where they were allowed, and mobs multiplied. Asbury and Coke shrank before the legal difficulties of the question in some of the States, and consented to the suspension of the stringent rules which had been adopted. Subsequent Conferences, in 1786, 1792, and 1796, modified the rules, but retained the emphatic declaration against the slave system. The rule adopted in 1800 was somewhat stronger, and provision was made for memorializing the State Legislatures on the subject of gradual emancipation. In carrying out this action some of the preachers incurred persecution, one of whom, Rev. George Dougharty, of South Carolina, died from injuries received from a mob. The Quarterly and Annual Conferences, in Kentucky and Tennessee, from 1806 to 1816, took decided action, and many emancipations were effected.

Each successive General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1800 to 1824, took some action in regard to slavery, sometimes modifying and sometimes strengthening previous action. The section adopted in 1824, which remained unchanged for thirty six years, declared that no slave-holder should be eligible to any official station in the Church, where the laws of the State in which he lived admitted of emancipation and permitted the liberated slave to enjoy freedom; and that when any traveling preacher became owner of slave property he should forfeit his ministerial character in the Church, unless he executed, if practicable, a legal emancipation of his slaves conformably to the laws of the State in which he lived. The General Rule of the Church, from 1792 to the present day, has prohibited "the buying and selling of men, women, and children with the intention to enslave them." At a later date, as we shall see, the holding of persons in slavery was also prohibited.

Simultaneously with other ecclesiastical utterances at the opening of this period, was the declaration of antislavery sentiments, in 1774, by the Presbyterian Synod of New York and

Philadelphia. Similar action was taken in 1780, and a fuller expression, though more cautiously phrased than those of other religious bodies, was proclaimed in 1787, recommending their people "to use the most prudent measures consistent with the interest and state of civil society, to procure, eventually, the final abolition of slavery in America." This subject came before the General Assembly in 1793, 1795, and 1815, when the expression of 1787 was re-affirmed.

In Kentucky, from an early period, a decided antislavery sentiment manifested itself in the Presbyterian Church. Rev. David Rice, a member of the convention that framed the State Constitution in 1791, labored hard to secure in that instrument a provision for the emancipation of the slaves, and published a pamphlet containing the views he had advocated. The Presbytery of Transylvania, in 1794, urged its people to prepare their slaves for freedom. Through several successive years these views were reiterated. In 1805 two young ministers, graduates from Dickinson College, Robert G. Wilson and James Gilliland, found it necessary to leave the Carolinas on account of their pronounced opinions in favor of emancipation. They settled in Ohio, whither others from Kentucky and Tennessee subsequently fled, and became promoters of positive antislavery sentiments.

In 1818 the sale of a slave, a member of the Presbyterian Church, was brought to the notice of the General Assembly, and a committee, of which Dr. Ashbel Green was chairman, reported an elaborate preamble containing a strong indictment against slavery, and recommending all Christians "to use their honest, earnest, unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and, as speedily as possible, to efface this blot from our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world." They also warned their people against making any unavoidable delay in accomplishing this end "a cover for the love or practice of slavery, or a pretense for not using efforts that are lawful and practicable to extinguish this evil." In 1825 the Assembly say, "No more honored name can be conferred upon a minister of Jesus Christ than that of Apostle to the American slaves." In 1826 the Presbyterian Synod of Ohio, by a large majority, strongly condemned slavery — an

utterance subsequently quoted by Mr. Garrison, in the first volume of the "Liberator."

In the first part of this century, the invention and general introduction of the cotton-gin into the South, the rapid increase of cotton manufacturing and the growing mercantile and commercial interests connected with Southern products, all combined to make slave labor more profitable than formerly, and to deteriorate the moral sentiment in regard to the institution. Under such circumstances a determined purpose was formed to retain slavery where it already existed and to extend its domain in the territories. Hence laws prohibiting emancipation, the Missouri Compromise, and the intense excitement attending its adoption. After this the fires of agitation declined, a general condition of stupor followed, the public conscience was clouded, and Southern Legislatures repealed the more humane provisions of the slave-codes. Large numbers of all classes bowed in supple subserviency to the slave power, and treated the discussion of slavery as dangerous to the perpetuity of the Union. During this period the radical pro-slavery theories, for the advocacy of which Hon. John C. Calhoun was noted, were echoed by many divines and statesmen, and became a common sentiment in the South, and even with some at the North. It was contended that slavery was a divine institution, defensible from the Bible, and "the corner-stone of all enduring political institutions." From about 1805 to 1830 the general tendency of sentiment in regard to slavery, in the country and in the Churches, deteriorated. The disciplinary regulations against slavery became more or less a dead-letter, seldom enforced, and perhaps never in large sections; and the advocacy of antislavery principles was often severely denounced. In the North many sympathized with the South, and co-operated with them in every possible way in the legislative councils of the States and of the Churches.

But, even in this period of decadence, strong antislavery sentiments burned in many hearts. Among the Quakers, in 1814, Elias Hicks published a volume on slavery, containing the most radical principles of abolition. About 1820, in Kentucky and Tennessee, some ministers proclaimed with great clearness and force the distinctive doctrines of abolition. Dwelling in the midst of pro-slavery communities, increasingly intolerant

toward emancipation, the residence of these ministers became uncomfortable and unsafe. Accordingly, such men as Rev. John Rankin, a Presbyterian minister, and others, removed with their flocks to Ohio. It was no uncommon thing for the Methodist itinerants to speak freely, in public and in private, against slavery. Rev. Jacob Gruber, of the Baltimore Conference, was especially outspoken; and, while presiding elder, in 1818, at a camp-meeting, preached plainly against the slave system, for which he was arrested and tried for felony. He was defended by Roger B. Taney, Esq., subsequently Chief-Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and acquitted. In his eloquent plea, Mr. Taney affirmed that "the Methodist Church had steadily in view the abolition of slavery," that "no slaveholder was allowed to be a minister in it," and that "its preachers were accustomed to speak of the injustice and oppression of slavery."

Several other active antislavery workers appeared between 1815 and 1832. Near Wheeling, Va., resided a man of staunch New Jersey Quaker stock, who had deep convictions of the wrong of slavery, and clear views of duty in regard to the great evil. Benjamin Lundy seized the trailing banner of antislavery, and, for about a score of years, was a conspicuous standard-bearer. From 1815 to 1830 his labors were immense, involving great personal hardship and sacrifice, placing him in advance of all contemporaneous abolitionists. From him Mr. Garrison derived his first positive antislavery convictions.

Residing in Wheeling, a great thoroughfare of the interstate slave-trade, Mr. Lundy was powerfully stirred by the atrocities of the slave system, and could obtain no peace of mind until he espoused the cause of the oppressed. In his own house, in 1815, he organized "The Union Humane Society," which soon numbered five hundred members in that region. Auxiliaries were formed in Kentucky, Tennessee, etc., and appeals were widely scattered. Charles Osborne, Esq., soon became his fellow laborer, the two publishing "The Philanthropist," at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1821. Visiting Illinois and Missouri, Mr. Lundy portrayed the evils of the slave system. Returning, he started the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," at Steubenville, Ohio — destined to a marked and stormy career — for about ten years the only distinctive antislavery journal in the

country. In 1822 he boldly removed his paper to Greenville, Tenn., the center of slavedom. In midwinter, early in 1824, he traveled on horseback, at his own expense, to Philadelphia to attend the National Abolition Convention. Returning, he removed his paper to Baltimore. Traveling on foot in the summer, and carrying his own knapsack, he lectured on slavery through North Carolina and Virginia, and organized antislavery societies, which, in the course of three years, comprised three thousand members. He was received in Baltimore "civilly, but coolly," even by antislavery men, with only words of discouragement for his paper. In 1825 a series of articles on the domestic slave-trade enraged the slave-dealers, who assaulted him in the streets and compelled the removal of his paper to Washington. He visited Hayti and Texas in the interest of the slaves. In 1826 a National Abolition Convention was held in Baltimore, attended by delegates from eighty of the one hundred and forty Abolition societies in the country, nearly all of which traced their origin to Mr. Lundy's efforts.

In the meantime antislavery sentiment was developing in minds destined to become standard-bearers in the great reform. In 1816 Alvan Stewart, subsequently an able lawyer and orator, in New York, and one of the leaders in the antislavery agitation from 1830–1850, visited the South, witnessed the abominations of slavery, and became an ardent abolitionist. From that time he was accustomed to portray the horrors of slavery in fervid language, and rendered effective service to the cause of antislavery in the days of its weakness. In 1822 to 1824 Mr. Theodore D. Weld, a candidate for the Congregational ministry, visited the South, traveling extensively, and witnessing the terrible aspects of slavery. Some years later he said, "On this tour I saw slavery at home, and became a radical abolitionist." Before Mr. Garrison published the "Liberator," we find him exerting his influence positively against slavery; and, in 1831, in Huntsville, Alabama, discussing the subject of slavery with Rev. Dr. Allen, a Presbyterian minister, who, unable to answer his cogent arguments, appealed to Mr. James G. Birney, an elder in his Church. Several interviews followed, in which Mr. Birney was convinced of the wrong of slavery, and entered upon the work, first of colonization, and afterward of reform. Rev. James Dickey, of Kentucky, in 1824, became deeply

impressed with the wrong of slavery, and published his views in an able volume; and in the same year, Rev. John Rankin, to whom reference has been made, published a series of letters, addressed to a Virginia slave-holder, denouncing slavery as "a never-failing fountain of grossest immoralities, and one of the deepest sources of human misery." From this volume, Rev. Samuel J. May, in 1824, received his first antislavery impressions. It took strong ground in favor of "immediate emancipation." * Mr. Rankin was untiring in his antislavery efforts, organizing societies in Kentucky, and in the vicinity of Ripley, Ohio, developing around him a strong antislavery sentiment. He was among the first movers in the antislavery societies formed under Mr. Garrison's leadership, always declaring, says Mr. Wilson, that "he himself, and the antislavery societies he had organized, believed and avowed the doctrine of immediate emancipation." †

In the spring of 1828 Mr. Lundy visited New York city and the New England States, enlisting new laborers in the field. The Tappans, in New York city, were interested. Then we find him visiting Rev. Samuel J. May, at Brooklyn, Conn., and deeply impressing his already awakened mind. Thence he went to Providence, and found William Goodell, of whom he said, "I endeavored to arouse him, but he was slow of speech on the subject." His labors, however, were not in vain. Mr. Goodell's mind moved surely and strongly, and his paper, "The Weekly Investigator," started the previous year, devoted to moral and political discussion, thenceforth gave increasing prominence to temperance and slavery. We find Mr. Goodell, hand in hand with Mr. Garrison,‡ in 1829, calling upon prominent Boston ministers to secure their co-operation in the cause of antislavery, and, for more than thirty years, a sturdy champion of abolition.

Mr. Lundy moved on to Boston,§ where he could find no

* See "Slavery and Antislavery," by William Goodell, p. 490.

† "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. i, p. 178.

‡ "Slavery and Antislavery," by William Goodell, p. 401, note.

§ The following is an extract from Lundy's private journal, and justifies the above statement: "At Boston I could hear of no abolitionist resident of the place. At the house where I stayed I became acquainted with William L. Garrison, who was a boarder there. He had not then turned his attention particularly to the slavery question. I visited the Boston clergy, and finally got together eight of

abolitionists; but, "in the same house where he boarded," he met Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, then editing "The Philanthropist," a temperance paper, not having particularly turned his attention to the subject of slavery. Mr. Lundy's conversations awakened Mr. Garrison's mind,* and became the connecting-link between the earlier and later antislavery movements. After visiting Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York, Mr. Lundy returned to Washington, where the last of the Abolition Conventions, originated in 1794, was held in 1829.

The English antislavery movement, directed first against the slave-trade, then for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and, later still, for gradual emancipation, rapidly assumed a more radical type, and the reform literature abounded in appeals for immediate emancipation. In 1825 Miss Elizabeth Herrick, a member of the Society of Friends, published a pamphlet entitled, "Immediate, not Gradual, Emancipation," which soon became the watch-word of the reform.

This doctrine had been urged by Rev. Dr. Hopkins and the younger Edwards in the last century. The latter, in 1791, proclaimed that "every man who cannot show that his negro hath, by his voluntary conduct, forfeited his liberty, is obligated *immediately to manumit him.*" We have seen Rev. John Rankin advocating this doctrine in 1824, and Rev. Samuel J. May imbibing it from Mr. Rankin's book. When Mr. May heard Mr. Garrison's lecture, in Boston, October, 1830, advocating immediate emancipation, he was fully with him in his views, for he declared that Mr. Garrison's ideas "satisfied

men, belonging to various sects. Such an occurrence, it was said, was seldom, if ever, before known in that town. The eight clergymen all cordially approved of my object, and each of them cheerfully subscribed to my paper, in order to encourage by their example, members of their several congregations to take it. William L. Garrison, who sat in the room and witnessed our proceedings, also expressed his approbation of my doctrines. A few days afterward we had a large meeting. After I had finished my lecture several clergymen spoke. William L. Garrison shortly afterward wrote an article on the subject for one of the daily papers."

* At the Anniversary of the American Antislavery Society in New York city, in 1865, Mr. Garrison said: "Had it not been for him, I know not where I should have been at the present time. My eyes might have been sealed for my whole life; and possibly, though I trust in God I should not have been, I might have been led in some direction or other so far as even to care nothing for slavery in my country."

his mind and heart." Mr. William Goodell,* also, is supposed to have antedated Mr. Garrison in adopting this radical principle, and in early conversations to have led him to adopt it.

Another name deserves honorable mention as a pioneer in antislavery movements. Rev. George Bourne, of the Presbyterian Church, was one of the most noteworthy antislavery men of this period, and one of the most radical and uncompromising in his utterances, far in advance of his times. While editing a paper in Baltimore (1805–1809) he wrote freely against the slave-trade and the slave-system. As pastor of Churches in Virginia (1809–1816) he delivered powerful antislavery utterances, and published (Harrisonburgh, Va., 1812, subsequently republished, in Philadelphia, 1816,) a volume, "The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable," containing the doctrine of immediate emancipation. Driven from Virginia by the slave-holders, in 1816, he maintained the same testimony, as pastor, at Germantown, Pa. In the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1818, he took a decided part in the great debate on slavery. In 1830 he edited "The Protestant," (New York city;) in 1834 the "Protestant Vindicator;" and, later, the "Christian Intelligencer." His name appears as an active participator in the organization of the first Antislavery Societies (1833, 1834) in New York city and Philadelphia. In 1833 he published, (Middletown, Conn.,) "Pictures of Slavery in the United States," from his personal observations in Virginia, the volume also containing the former book enlarged. In 1837 this was republished (Isaac Knapp, Boston) with an addition—"Slavery Illustrated in its Effects upon Woman"—constituting one of the strong antislavery documents of those times, (1833–1840.) In a letter to Mr. Bourne's son, in 1858, Mr. Garrison

* Mr. Goodell commenced, in 1827, the editing and publication of the "Weekly Investigator," in Providence, R. I., "devoted to moral and political discussion and reformation in general, including temperance and antislavery." Some time in 1827 or 1828 Mr. Garrison came to Boston to assist Rev. William Collier (Baptist) in editing and printing "The National Philanthropist," devoted wholly to temperance. Late in 1828 Mr. Garrison went to Bennington, Vt., to edit "The Journal of the Times;" and, in January, 1829, Mr. Goodell's paper was merged into the "National Philanthropist," in Boston, Mr. Collier retiring. In July, 1830, it was removed to New York, and published, by W. Goodell and P. Crandall, as "The Genius of Temperance," and subsequently discontinued, Mr. Goodell then taking charge of the "Emancipator."

said: "I confess my early and large indebtedness to him for enabling me to apprehend with irresistible clearness the inherent sinfulness of slavery under all circumstances, and its utter incompatibility with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. I felt, and was inspired by, the magnetism of his lion-hearted soul, which knew nothing of fear, and trampled upon all compromises with oppression, yet was full of womanly gentleness and susceptibility; and mightily did he aid the anti-slavery cause, in its earliest stages, by his advocacy of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, his exposure of the hypocrisy of the colonization scheme, and his reprobation of a negro-hating, slave-holding religion."

We have introduced these facts to show that Mr. Garrison is not entitled to the credit of originality—as some have claimed—for his peculiar views, but was preceded by others, and even guided by them.

In the latter part of 1828 Mr. Garrison went to Bennington, Vt., where he edited "The Journal of the Times," and soon achieved the reputation of a fanatic. In his mind, sharper and intenser than Mr. Lundy's, antislavery sentiments assumed a sterner type than the sturdy Quaker ever dreamed of, and, in the midst of the prevailing stupor, he rang out the astounding notes of immediate emancipation. Here he was again visited by Mr. Lundy, whose invitation to aid him in editing his paper in Baltimore he accepted; in which service he became a victim of slave-holding vengeance, fully determining his life career. The story of his severe attacks upon the slave-system, his arrest, trial, incarceration, and release through the generosity of Arthur Tappan, is familiar to all. He returned to Boston, and on the first of January, 1831, commenced the publication of "The Liberator," a redoubtable knight-errant, helmeted, greaved, and mounted upon a fiery charger, the hero of many a desperate tournament, of many a bloody fray, of many a fierce encounter.

Thus far the leading champions of antislavery have been chiefly representatives of the Churches; and the Churches have uttered emphatic testimony, and enacted stringent disciplinary regulations against slavery, though sometimes hesitating and hindered because of the complex political environment of the institution. The field, therefore, was not an uncultivated

one, nor destitute of resolute, experienced workers, when Mr. Garrison arose. One hundred and fifty-seven years of anti-slavery seed-sowing, by religious men; fifty-eight years of organized movements, by societies and conventions, composed chiefly of members of the Churches; and more than sixty years of legislation against slavery by ecclesiastical bodies, preceded the advent of Mr. Garrison in the field, who, a child of the Church, and originally inspired by her ministrations, came forth as one of the long succession of apostles of antislavery.

More than this: At the time when Mr. Garrison came before the public this cause was gaining prestige from the culmination and assured speedy triumph of British emancipation, incepted, championed, and sustained, from first to last, by the best representatives of British Christianity in and out of Parliament. The first of August, 1834, witnessed the consummation; and the example of that sublime achievement stirred the world with powerful pulsations of universal liberty.

Art. V.—THE PLACE OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature: with Special Reference to Certain Recondite, Neglected, or Disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, Delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876–1879. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By Henry Martyn Dexter. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Deeds must always anticipate elevated and fascinating historiography. Even poets must have something on which to build their shining castles. Byron, in his boat on Lake Geneva, could never write without first getting stirred by the record of men in the glow of action. Had there been no Achilles or Agamemnon there had never been an Iliad. The Americans have been too busy at creating history to give due attention to the writing of it. Our period of repose and retrospection has begun to dawn, however, and, now that our current of life is getting more regular and methodical, the opportunity is coming for a calm and judicial examination of the great facts that have entered into our national development. The period from the discovery of America, in 1492, down to the Pilgrim

landing at Plymouth, in 1620, had little bearing on the later America. It was the time of pause and uncertainty, when the prospect bade fair to make of this western world simply a new territory which should compensate Rome for her Protestant losses in the eastern. The color of that century and a quarter, so far as the religious promise of this continent was concerned, was Jesuitical, stationary, revolutionary, half Spanish, and half French. But when the colonists on the "Mayflower" saw before them the shore-line of Plymouth, on that memorable November morning, after a stormy passage of ninety-eight days, the darker star disappeared from this new sky, and a brighter one came in sight to take its place. Holmes has struck the real significance of the westward pilgrims:

> "And these were they who gave us birth,
> The Pilgrims of the sunset wave;
> Who won for us this virgin earth,
> And freedom with the soil they gave."

Old things were to pass away, and all things were to become new. A revolution was to take place. From that time forward this part of the American continent was in Protestant hands. Events transpired in their natural order. The immigrations, the colonial regulations for local government, and the small educational beginnings, proved clearly enough the presence here of a force that meant no compromise with Rome, but a Protestant commonwealth for all the coming centuries. Mexico, and Central and South America, with their ebb and flow of revolution, their incapacity to deal with the aborigines, their perpetual borrowing of thought and method and faith from the corrupt Latin countries of Southern Europe, are visible proof of what the United States would have been without the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon element in that critical, plastic period of our history. We have made mistakes. Sometimes we have been excessively patient, and now and then have been over hasty. But taking 1620 and 1880 as the *termini* of our positive and homogeneous development, no historical period can show more rapid growth, a keener eye for real exigencies, and a stronger arm to serve the righteous cause.

To Congregationalism belongs the high honor of being the noblest positively religious element in this permanent American life. It was not simply a protest against Rome, but against

the economy of the English Establishment. The most careful student of the Brownists, before they ever dreamed of leaving England for Amsterdam or Leyden, or were dignified with the name of Congregationalists, will fail to find one word against Romanism, where he will find ten against the Protestant Church of England. But we must not forget that the protest against Rome was implied in the latter. Indeed, the real, though not always expressed, ground of objection to episcopacy and other elements of the English Protestant system, was that the Church of England was only half Protestant. Here it was about right. Who can tell whether Romanism or Protestantism predominated in the Church of England of Henry VIII.? But for the younger denominations that have sprung from the loins of the first Church of England, and have been teaching it lessons ever since, the difference between the latter and the Church of Rome would to-day be so slight that either could be taken as a substitute for the other. This is not the first historical instance, neither will it be the last, when the most of a parent's wisdom has been derived from the lips and example of his children.

The aim which Dr. Dexter has in view, if we may judge from the title of his work, is to make the literature of Congregationalism tell the story of the religious body itself. What is this Church? To answer this question, he would ask, What has it written? His book, therefore, is the literary record of the denomination of which he is an honored son and an ardent student. By the fruit of the pen he would show what manner of tree this is which sprang from the small grain in calm little Norwich three centuries ago, and has been shooting out its branches through the whole period. This is very laudable, though all too special a purpose for broad and full historical writing. It judges great movements by data often obscure and uncertain. It ignores the fact that generally the true hero writes but little. It would not be safe to test the Protectorate by such sprawling general orders of Cromwell as Carlyle has furnished us, or, going further back, to judge Charlemagne's reign by any record which the hero made, save through the few compact pages of his faithful Eginhard. The result, however, is good, for it follows one thread of development from the beginning. It absolutely finishes one subject, and

hands it over to the general Church historian for incorporation in his work for all time to come. The Congregational Church placed firm emphasis on the power of the pen from the time when it was only a floating dream in the brain of quaint, belligerent, uncompromising Robert Browne. Whether still in England, or in Holland, or as a fresh colonist on the shore of Massachusetts, it used the printing-press with untiring zeal. Its very bibliography reveals a marvel of literary productiveness. Dr. Dexter had already written largely on the Church of his fellowship and love before he came to this crowning point of his historical studies, for which, with his antiquarian taste and keen eye, he has searched for all existing literary memorials of the Pilgrim and Puritan in the libraries and small towns of New England, and has ransacked the collections of England and Holland, and visited the Brownist Meccas on both sides of the Channel. He pays little attention to style, and now and then lingers too long on minor events; but these are defects of such small weight that they do not enter into our estimate of the general finish of his work.

The Congregational place in literature can be determined but by its actual achievement in life. We begin with the fortunes of Browne, the father of Congregationalism. While the Church which he founded has always claimed a settled ministry, Browne himself, during the whole of that part of his life which bears any relation to Congregationalism, and was at all productive, was one of the princes of an unwearied itinerancy. He was born in Totthorpe, Rutlandshire, England, in 1550. At the age of twenty he attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, about a year; became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; began to disseminate his doctrines of independency while in this position, but was aided by the duke in refusing to respond to the summons of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; afterward went to Southwark, where he taught three years; lectured to scattered companies on Sundays in a gravel pit in Islington, near London; returned to his father's home, because of the plague in London; re-appeared as a student at Cambridge; preached six months in a pulpit of the city, and sent back the money he was entitled to; began to harangue against the bishops; was prohibited by them from further preaching; went to Norwich, where he organized a little Church of sympathizers; on ac-

count of persecution he and his flock emigrated to Middleburv, Holland; through lack of harmony, he and four or five families left for Scotland; was soon cited before the Kirk of Edinburgh; returned to his father's house in England; went to Stamford; preached his doctrines at Northampton; was cited before Bishop Linsell, but, on refusing to appear, was excommunicated; afterward became reconciled, made concessions, and was re-admitted to the Church of England; became master of St. Olave's, Southwark, on agreeing not to keep any conventicles, or confer with suspected or disorderly persons, but to accompany the children to sermons and lectures in the Church, to conform to the doctrine of the Church of England, to use the regular Catechism in the school, and to take communion in the parish; received from his kinsman, Lord Burghley, the living of Achurch; occupied it full forty years; and died at last in Northampton jail.

Browne had few co-workers. He held a busy pen, and was an original in thought and expression. The work which he did was finished when he ceased his wanderings and re-entered the Church of England. His last forty years count for nothing in making an estimate of his life. He had expressed his opinions of dissent from the Church of England, and after practically giving the denial to this first antagonistic part of his life by his long service within the fold from which he had been driven, there were others who took up the cause which he renounced, appealed, and with justice, to his writings as their authority, developed his forsaken cause in a careful and methodical way, and in time gave birth to a posterity which carried on still further their cause of independency. To the words of Browne, the protesting and unreconciled, therefore, we must look for the doctrinal warrant for the Congregational movement. The key-note to this whole opposition to the Church of England was the ungodliness of its members. The entire historical basis of the Brownism of the latter part of the sixteenth and the former half of the seventeenth, and of the Congregationalism of the two succeeding centuries, can be put in a single line—the unchristian life of the average parishioner of the Church of England. If men of unholy life could be members of the Church, and share in its sacraments, and control its destinies, Browne had no faith in such a Church. Dr. D[illegible]

ter puts the case thus: "Not merely the worldliest, and the most selfish and greedy people, but unbelievers and those of scandalous lives, might legally, if in point of fact they did not habitually, partake of the Lord's supper, without protest or distinction, side by side with the very elect and anointed of God." Browne saw this with his own eyes, and he did not hesitate to fulminate against this mixture of Christ and Belial in the Church of England as little better than that of Rome. He spoke on this wise:

> No man can serve two contrary masters, saith Christ, (Matt. vi,) neither can they be the Lord's people without his staff of beauty and bands, (Zech. xi, 7;) that is, without the Lord's government, for his covenant is disannulled, as it followeth in the 10th verse. Now his government and scepter cannot be there where much open wickedness is incurable. For if open wickedness must needs be suffered, it is suffered in those which are without; as Paul saith, What have I to do to judge them which are without? (1 Cor. v, 12.) And again he saith, even of these later times, that men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, cursed thinkers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, intemperate, fierce, despisers of them which are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a show of godliness, but having denied the power thereof. From such we must turn away, as Paul warneth, (2 Tim. iii, 2;) that is, we must count them none of the Church, and leave them, whether in all these or in some of them they be openly so faulty as that they be incurable. Also, if any be forced by laws, penalties, and persecutions, as in those parishes, to join with any such persons either in the sacraments, or in the service and worship of God, they ought utterly to forsake them and avoid such wickedness. For the abomination is set up, antichrist is got into his throne, and who ought to abide it? yea, who ought not to seek from sea to sea, and from land to land, as it is written, (Amos viii, 12,) to have the word and the sacraments better administered, and his service and worship in better manner?

The true Christian is justified in withdrawing from a fallen, or never risen, Church, such as Browne conceived the Church of England. This is his argument for separation:

> Not that we can keep its commandments without all breach or offense, for we are not Donatists, as the adversaries slander us, that we should say we may be without sin, or that the Church may be without public offenses, or if there fall out some sort of grosser sins that therefore it should cease to be the Church of God; we teach no such doctrine; but if in any Church such gross

sins be incurable, and the Church hath not power to redress them, or rebelliously refuseth to redress them, then it ceaseth to be the Church of God, and so remaineth till it repent and take better order.

The difference between the estimate of the proper relation of the godly member of the Church of England to his Church by the founder of Congregationalism and the founder of Methodism, is very clear. Browne believed in separation, and advocated it with all his power. Wesley, coming after the chill and formalism which the long reign of Deism had inflicted on the Establishment, found himself a preacher within its fold, and set to work to check the evil and introduce a pure and fervent practical life. His care for the Church was not to leave it, but to work with his full might within it. With all his radical plans, he was too much of a conservative to advocate separation. The founding of a new reform organization was not originally in his thought. He hoped to so revive the spirit of the Church of England that the leaven might finally permeate the mass. He strove for a regeneration from within, by the introduction of the great descent of divine power. It was only when the movement became so strong, and the numbers so large, and the spirit on the part of the Church of England so hostile, that his Societies were compelled to a separate religious body. The hand of Providence compelled them to a strong ecclesiastical autonomy. There was no formal declaration of secession. There was no long list of charges giving a reason for withdrawal, made by the first generation of Methodists against the Church of England. They simply held their annual meetings, arranged their work for the new year, built their chapels, sent their missionaries west to America and east to India, constructed a great pastoral net-work over the British islands, and formed themselves into a Church in the scriptural and apostolic sense. They grew into independency. Congregationalism, on the other hand, started out with the idea of separation from the Church of England. It was the first note which Browne sounded, and it never ceased to be heard until, wearied and exhausted by his long warfare, he came back to the old hearth-stone. These two thoughts—intentional separation and undesigned independency—lie at the root of the whole development of Protestant ecclesiastical life. Each has

its advantages, its dangers, its peculiar triumphs. The one is better adapted to one age, the other to a different one. Browne could never have said what he did without prompt excision, or a steady march to the stake. Wesley could never have multiplied his followers, and carried on his marvelous work of organization and evangelization, if he had adopted Browne's plan of declaring secession with his first breath. Both movements, however, were directed by the same Hand, and the world has not yet seen the full, ripe harvest-field from either.

The part which satire has taken in religious controversy, and even in the great work of the Reformation, is usually one of the overlooked chapters in ecclesiastical historiography. There are always sober minds who disapprove of the introduction of this element, even when advocating their cause, on the ground that it indicates a reliance on an unserious agent. Nevertheless, there is a place for even the satirist; a public which only his pen can reach; a world of abuses which it is his function to reveal and hold up to just contempt. The search for the philosopher's stone in Germany had called forth many a learned volume, but it was reserved for the caustic pen of John Valentine Andrea to prove its absolute folly, and make it the laughing-stock of his generation. The "Praise of Folly," by the quiet and scholarly Erasmus, written by snatches while making a journey from Basel to Rotterdam, and illustrated by the pencil of Hans Holbein, did more to expose the superstitions and abominations of Romanism to popular contempt than the works of all the Reformers besides. The work of repudiating the errors of the Church of England, which Browne began, was very serious business. There would seem to have been no place for any but straightforward writing, and the use of the most reverent language. But suddenly there appeared a thin, black-letter pamphlet, bearing as impudent and unecclesiastical a title as ever printer put into type.* It was in the interest of the

* Thus runs the rare title: "Oh, read over D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy Work: or, An Epitome of the first Book of that right worshipful volume, written against the Puritans, in defense of the noble clergy, by as worshipful a priest, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest, or Elder, doctor of divillity, and Dean of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answer M. Doctor, they must needs say something that hath been spoken. Compiled for the behoof and overthrow of the parsons, vicars, and curates, that have learnt their catechisms, and are past grace. By the reverend and worthy Martin

Brownist movement, and was calculated to do infinite damage to the Establishment. It consisted simply of Browne's doctrines, thrown into the keenest satire. The corruption of the general clergy, the pride and vanity of the bishops, the repressive measures of the whole ecclesiastical government of Great Britain, and the corrupt life in the parishes, are dwelt upon without mercy. The books written against the Puritans by preachers of the Establishment had been carefully read by this Martin Marprelate, and their ignorance was now exposed with a cleaving force which excited universal interest. The pamphlet spared no man or thing which stood in its way. It shot out puns from its savage muzzle which made many a bishop fairly dance with rage. For example, the dignified Archbishop of Canterbury is called "*paltri*-politan," "his grace*lessness*, John Cant*er*." The Bishops are described as "proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent, and pernicious prelates, cogging and cozening knaves," and "horned masters of the Convocation House." John, Bishop of London, has a "notable brazen face," and is "dumb dunstical John;" the Bishop of Winchester "is not able to say bo to a goose;" and the Dean of Sarum deserves "a caudal of hempseed and a plaster of neck-weed, as well as some of your brothers the papists."

Martin had thoroughly acquainted himself with the life of the men whom he attacked. He charged John of London with swearing "like a lewd swag," with playing bowls on the Sabbath, with making a preacher out of his porter at the gate, with practically stealing some cloth, with refusing to pay his honest debts, with making hay on the Sabbath, with cutting down and selling the noble old elms of Fulham which did not belong to him personally, and with cheating a poor shepherd out of a legacy. Serious charges these, but they would not have been made without ground. He gives incidents of priestly immorality, openly naming his men, and makes the following broad declaration: "Those who are petty popes and petty antichrists ought not to be maintained in any commonwealth.

Marprelate, gentleman, and dedicated to the Convocation House. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at convenient leisure to view the same. In the meantime let them be content with this learned epistle. Printed Oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman."

But my Lord B. in England . . . all the Bishops in England, Wales, and Ireland are petty popes and petty antichrists. Therefore no Lord Bishop is to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth." Still, Martin is willing to have peace. But, to do so, the Bishops must promise: 1. To labor to promote the preaching of the word in all parts of the land; 2. To make ministers of only godly men; 3. To punish nobody for refusing to wear popish garments, or omitting corruptions from the Prayer Book, or not kneeling at the communion; to leave off private excommunication and allow public fasts; and molest nobody for this book. Such is Martin's *ultimatum*, and he closes it thus: "These be the conditions which you brother Bishops shall be bound to keep inviolably on your behalf. And I your Brother Martin, on the other side, do faithfully promise upon the performance of the promises by you, never to make any more of your knavery known unto the world."

It is not necessary to add that Martin's terms were not accepted. His little book went throughout England. The Earl of Essex presented one to the Queen; the students of Oxford and Cambridge read it secretly; the four Bishops chiefly attacked met and took counsel together, saying that the enemy must be banished and his charges answered. The Queen gave special orders for the arrest of the author, wherever found. While the search was going on Martin thrust out another pamphlet, the promised "Epitome," which had as keen an edge as the first battle-ax. Take as specimens two of the *Errata* appended to it: "Wheresoever the prelates are called my Lords, take that for a fault;" and "There is nothing spoken at all of that notable hypocrite, Scambler, Bishop of Norwich. Take it for a great fault, but unless he leave his close dealing against the truth, I'll bestow a whole book of him." The answer of the Bishops came out in due time—a quarto of two hundred and fifty pages, "An Admonition to the People of England." Time was not given by Martin to read this ponderous effusion. It had hardly begun even its limited circulation before a third satire came out, and then a fourth, until there were seven, all of them issued within the short space of as many months. The pen of satire was employed to correct him, but then, as ever, people would laugh at only one side of the disputation. The effort to find out who was the real Martin Marprelate was continued with

desperation. He was wanted for the scaffold. His pamphlets had been printed in first one place, then another; the copy was furnished in scraps, which women aided in printing, and the pamphlets, when ready, were smuggled to the public by being hidden in personal apparel or wrapped in the middle of rolls of leather and delivered by the common carriers. He accomplished his task thoroughly; and his real name, like that of "Junius," still stands under the rose. The publisher was found out to be John Penry, and, while many believed he was the author of the Marprelate tracts, there was lacking just the final evidence needed to hang him for it. The whole controversy was a sign of the times. A great issue was at stake, and there was a conscience underlying the Brownist cause which had spoken out in homely phrase against the crooked and repressive ways of the Church of England in Elizabeth's day. Many people became convinced that there was just ground for complaint, and a broad sympathy was felt for the non-conforming element of English Christians which had not existed before. The wit of Martin had penetrated every part of the British islands, and from that day onward there never struck an hour when the Puritans of England were without friends in every social circle of the land. No man can tell how far the satire of Marprelate, which startled the country in the latter half of 1588 and the former half of 1589, contributed to gain adherents to the Puritan cause through the whole time down to the landing at Plymouth, and, later on, to supply the first emigrants with a steady current of re-enforcement for New England colonization. In all literary history it is not likely that satire has ever played a more important part, and worked farther into the future, than did these grotesque black-letter pamphlets of the first Brownist generation.

We now come to the most important step in this whole period of early Congregational history—the flight to Holland.

England was no place for these radicals. There was no safety for them in the north, and still less in the south. Public martyrdoms were not preferred by Queen Bess' churchly overseers, but if nothing less, or else, would do, then by all means the block and the fagot must be invoked. The favorite mode of serving death to the average Separatist was to let him lie in prison until he was forgotten, and to be kept there until he

died. Only the rare criminals were put to death in the old, gross style. Of course there was every reason why they should be executed, or, as blunt John Weaver put it:

"The Welchman is hanged,
Who at one Kirk flanged,
And at her state banged,
And hewed are his buks.
And though he be hanged,
Yet he is not wranged;
The de'il has him fanged
In his kruked kluks."

Dennis, Copping, and many others, were executed without much delay. Fifty-two of these Separatist Protestants were parceled out for personal labor to forty-three clergymen of the Establishment. Pity that there were not at least two apiece for the surpliced gentry! Fifty-nine were known to die in prison within a very short time. But, with all possible opposition, a Brownist congregation was organized in London. Its life was precarious and feeble. It was not safe an hour. The leaders felt this, and began to think of the best way of getting out of the country. Holland was the nearest Protestant shore, and so the Brownists in Lincolnshire and elsewhere began to betake themselves thither. The congregation which was organized in London in 1592 broke up the following year. Some went at first to the obscure places in the Netherlands, such as Campen and Naarden, but they soon gained courage, and settled in Amsterdam, with Henry Ainsworth as their teacher. Controversies arose among them, but there was a general growth, and always a wonderful literary activity. These Separatists were full of the literary spirit from the very beginning, and wherever they went they sharpened their pens and went to writing treatises on Church government, biblical interpretations, and doctrines of faith. When once in Holland they were not watched, and they sent back their books to England with amazing industry. The wonder was how they managed to get money enough to print and publish. When James I. ascended the throne it was hoped the Separatists might breathe more freely. But here they were mistaken. There was as little hope as ever, and the Amsterdam Society was re-enforced by the best Brownist blood, John Robinson and his company, from

Scrooby. After a time Robinson and his associates left for Leyden, and there formed a Church, which became progressive and united, and developed into the Plymouth Colony.

The strongest and best-balanced mind produced by the whole Brownist protest was this same John Robinson. He was clear in his convictions, skillful in management of men, and far-seeing of dangers that lie in any State-Church system. Of his birthplace, childhood, and youth but little is known. He studied at Cambridge, the only English university where there was any freedom of thought, and while there he came under the influence of Perkins, and formed such opinions of ecclesiastical and personal independence as gave character to his whole life. He preached near and in Norwich four years as a clergyman of the Church of England. But there was a silent protest in his soul all the time. He was stung by a sense of bondage. He went to Gainesborough, separated from the Establishment, and united with the feeble Separatist Society in that place. He afterward went to Scrooby, became pastor of the little Church there, and in a short time he and his flock emigrated to Leyden. At that time Leyden was the Dutch center of learning. It was the Athens of the North.

Robinson, in addition to his duties as pastor, matriculated, busied himself in the great library, soon became involved in the controversies of the hour, and entered the lists against the Arminians. He had been so hardly dealt with by human sovereignty that he took refuge in an extreme emphasis on the doctrine of divine sovereignty. The excitements of the Synod of Dort took firm hold on him, and, while he had felt the sting of persecution in England, and the very presence of himself and his Church in Holland was a proof of the crime of persecution, he failed to see that the persecution of the Dutch Arminians by their enemies was as sinful and unjustifiable as the persecution of the Separatists by Elizabeth and James. He defended the conclusions of Dort as the final grasping and grouping of the truth, the one point beyond which it was impossible for theology to make any further progress. His Church grew to a membership of three hundred, and far surpassed the parent congregation of English Separatists in Amsterdam.

But John Robinson and Elder Brewster could see that Holland was not the proper place for a permanent home for

English protesting Christians. Their families could not grow into firm and progressive citizenship. They entered into correspondence with James I., asking permission to return to England. But that ruler was not willing to renew his acquaintance with them, and a portion of them resolved to try their fortunes in the New World. It was a sad hour when that company of brave spirits stood on the quay at Delftshaven, a part to cross the sea and a part to remain, their pastor among them, to welcome home again the outgoers should they be driven back by any force whatever. Those who remained behind were as willing to be the emigrants as any others. It was a mutual arrangement for the common good. Robinson had been the guide of the little group in Leyden, and was now their inspiration as they left him on the dyke:

"The pastor spoke, and thus he said:

"'Men, brethren, sisters, children dear,
God calls you hence from sea;
Ye may not build by Haarlem Meer,
Nor yet along the Zuyder Zee.

"'Ye go to bear the saving word
To tribes unnamed, and shores untrod;
Heed well the lessons ye have heard
From those old teachers taught of God.

"'Yet think not unto them was lent
All light for all the coming days,
And Heaven's eternal wisdom spent
In making straight the ancient ways.

"'The living fountain overflows
For every flock, for every lamb;
Nor heeds, though angry creeds oppose
With Luther's dyke, or Calvin's dam.'"

Robinson continued to be the shepherd of the fragment of his flock. He had some domestic afflictions, and in five years his weary body was laid away in the crypt of St. Peter's Church. He had been a devout Christian, and had spent his life for his cause. His theological writings were numerous. His opinions harmonized in the main with Browne, though in learning and method of statement he was far in advance of that pioneer in separatism. His definition of a Church was more reverential, if not more elastic, than Dr. Leonard Bacon's definition of Congregationalism: "Let every man do as he pleases, and if he

wont do it, make him." Robinson says that a Church is "a company, consisting though but of two or three, separated from the world, either Christian or unchristian, and gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant made to walk in all the ways of God known unto them, and so hath the whole power of Christ."

On the personal duty of separating from a fallen Church, such as he claims the Establishment to be, he says: "But this I hold, that if iniquity be committed in the Church, and complaint and proof accordingly made, and that the Church will not reform, or reject the party opposing, but will, on the contrary, maintain presumptuously, and abet such impiety, that then, by abetting that party and his sin, she makes it her own by imputation, and enwraps herself in the same guilt with the sinner. And remaining irreformable, either by such members of the same Church as are faithful, (if there be any,) or by other sister Churches, wipeth herself out the Lord's Church-roll, and now ceaseth to be any longer the true Church of Christ. And whatsoever truths or ordinances of Christ this rebellious rout still retains, it but usurps the same, without right unto them, or possession of blessing upon them, both the persons and sacrifices are abominable unto the Lord."

But Robinson was willing to admit the non-separating to communion with him and his fellow-believers: "He who prefers a separation from the English, national, provincial, diocesan, and parochial Church, and Churches, in the whole form, state, and order thereof, may, notwithstanding, lawfully communicate in private prayer and other the like holy exercises, (not performed in their Church communion, nor by their Church power and ministry) with the godly among them, though the said godly are remaining, of infirmity, members of the same Church, or Churches, except some other extraordinary bar come in the way between them and us."

These declarations of Robinson entered into the substance of the Congregationalism of the future. Their spirit came with the Pilgrims to Plymouth, and has not left their posterity. Tenacity of opposition to formalism and proscription on the one hand, and a readiness for fraternization with all evangelical believers on the other, are very discernible in the general history of that Church. Now and then there have been exceptions, and notably in certain darker hours in the colonial period; but in the

main there has been a fair equilibrium between law and liberty in the Congregational structure.

It was a very serious question, and one likely to have an important bearing upon the whole religious development of this Western Continent: Would the successors of the first Pilgrims be of like creed and spirit with the men of the "Mayflower?" Robinson might be regarded as a very wise Church teacher, and yet there was danger that the blasts of winter, and all the hardships that came of the new life in the wilderness, might heal this Separatist ailment, and thrust those adventurous spirits back to the embrace of the Mother Church. It was not unlikely that the little divisions which cropped out in Holland might be repeated in the New World, and that the Pilgrims might lose their sense of united independence in the warmer passion of self-assertion. The "Mayflower" needed other vessels to follow in her crooked and tedious wake. The men who scrambled ashore from her deck over the icy rocks of Garnet Point would soon be lost in the forest if there were no brothers to come later into near companionship with them. And when new reenforcements might arrive, was it likely that, coming as they would from England, and not from Robinson's teachings in Holland, there could be harmony in ecclesiastical rule?

Let us see what took place. The first ten years of the Pilgrims produced but five new Congregational Churches; the first twenty years, only thirty-five. During the first nine years of their stay there was complete homogeneousness; but in 1629, when a new band arrived at Salem, there appeared the first sign of diversity. The Salem people were Non-conformists, but at the same time were not Separatists, like the Leyden Brownists and Robinsonians. They were drawn to Plymouth rather than to the James River region because they had no sympathy with the Church of England. Yet they frowned not a little on the emigrants from Leyden, and evidently had but little desire to follow in the footsteps of such a feeble folk. Higginson thus expressed the position of his Salem company as related to their predecessors at Plymouth: "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon; farewell, Rome!' But we will say, 'Farewell, dear England; farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!' We do not go to

New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practice the primitive part of Church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." There was no little side-glancing between the Salem and the Plymouth colonists. Each looked with doubt upon the other, and yet each felt that they had more interests in common than otherwise. An incident brought them into brotherly relations. The Salem men were suffering from scurvy, and, sending over to Plymouth for a physician, Dr. Samuel Fuller was deputed to attend them. Fuller had been a Leyden deacon, and, through his representations, Endicott was led to say of the Plymouth colonists, that their position as a Church was "far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular." So, when the Salem company organized themselves into a Church, and elected and ordained their pastor, Plymouth sent Governor Bradford and others as delegates, who gave the new Church the right hand of fellowship.

There was a recognition of pleasant relations, but there was a doubt as to the future. The Plymouth men had the right. They called themselves "Separatists," because that is just what they were. The Salem men were also Separatists, but they were not willing to acknowledge it. They did not like the Brownist odium, and were unwilling to fraternize with the men who called Browne their spiritual father. These two classes of protesting Christians, both of whom were represented in the very first decade of the colonization of New England, are types of all the later generations of Dissenters from the English Establishment. One class have always been decided, and have been ready to acknowledge their divergence total and final. The other have been decided in conviction, and yet have looked with no little longing for a probable return to the State Church. They have been in the wilderness, but could not forget the flesh-pots of Egypt. They have now and then been willing to pay tithes, and submit to the University Tests, and hoped that the future would bring about perfect equality. How nobler and stronger have those been who recognized their own independence, and were willing to say a long farewell to the Church from which they had departed. History has pronounced its verdict on the trimming Church, and it is not

Whenever a Church halts between its convictions and its first fold, it deserves to lose public confidence and support. Reason enough: Only the positive and candid can attract.

The later comers to New England, such as Winthrop in 1630, were of the Salem type; but it is interesting to note that the name "Separatist" gradually disappeared, because the antipodal force did not exist in New England as yet. In due time those who repudiated fellowship with the Brownist and Robinsonian Dissenters forgot their grievances, and became absorbed in the general Congregational life. Plymouth led. She had a right to do it. She had seen farther into the future than any others, and was on her pilgrimage to the broad, clear light of the better days. To her belongs all honor for a steady grasp of the right.

But we are now confronted with the great historical objection to the first civil test made in New England on a religious basis. In 1631 the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony declared who should be members of its body politic in these words: "No man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of the same." Carpers and freethinkers, who have called themselves historians, have, for two centuries, been finding fault with this condition of colonial citizenship. They have called it fanatical and intolerant, and have held it up to public scorn. The German critics, who have never understood American Church life, and of whom there is little hope that they ever will, until an evangelical faith prevails in Germany as it does in the United States, have never wearied of stigmatizing it as a piece of oppressive legislation. What wrong, we reply, in making Church membership a condition of participation in civil rule? The colonists were a religious people; they were a Church, or, rather, a group of Churches, *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*. They had the right, as they passed over into the civil stage of their career, to see that this civil life did not become secularized by worldly and unworthy camp-followers. It ill becomes writers who were born in the State-Church system, and whose infancy and youth have been spent in the same bondage, and whose maturity has been employed in feeding at its crib, while they have maligned the very doctrines that have created our Christian civilization, to take

offense at a necessary precautionary measure for the exercise of the very rights which our fathers crossed the sea to secure? Away with this indignation at the strong position which the colonists took to give a Christian character to their incipient civil polity! The time will come when this abuse of the New England heroes will pass away. It does not help the matter to add the charge of belief in witches, and other abnormalities. The colonial superstitions are largely the creation of a later day, and were propagated chiefly by Church-of-England writers, who came over to New England so late that they found the ground occupied by stronger minds, and took in hand the poor revenge of representing the northern colonies as far gone in wild beliefs.

The first Congregationalists had to feel their way carefully toward an order of Church service, for, through fear of falling into footsteps of the ritualism which had been a large factor in driving them from the Establishment, they leaned too far the other way. Their usages in Holland could hardly be adopted now, for in that country the Church life was necessarily that of small, dispersed congregations, in the midst of a strange language and of those strong, overshadowing Protestant Churches which had received them as brotherly guests. But the colonists had to regulate for the future, and without such examples of dissenting service in England as could give them best aid for organization in their new home.

One will smile a little as he goes over their arrangements for worship. These were primitive enough, but we must remember that all their work was initial, and the wonder is that they succeeded as well as they did. Sabbath morning service began at nine o'clock. In Boston, where advancement was most rapid, the people were called together by the ringing of a bell, but usually the congregation received notice of the time of worship by the beating of a drum, the blowing of a shell or horn, or the hoisting of a flag. In West Springfield the drum was used until 1743. In South Hadley, in 1749, a conch-shell was procured for calling the people together for worship, and John Lane was paid for blowing it. In 1759 Montague paid thirty shillings (English) for a conch-shell, and twenty shillings for blowing it for a year. In 1652 the Haverhill Church employed Abraham Tyler to "blow his horn in the most convey-

ient place every Lord's day, about half an hour before the meeting begins, and also on lecture days; for the which he is to have one peck of corn from every family for the year ensuing." In 1720 the Sunderland Church voted twenty shillings for sweeping the meeting-house and "tending the flag" at all public meetings the year ensuing. The pastor opened the meeting with prayer lasting about a quarter of an hour, after which the teacher read and expounded a chapter of the Bible. Then one of the ruling elders lined off a psalm, which was sung by the congregation. The pastor then preached, after which the teacher concluded with prayer and the blessing. The services were sometimes very protracted. One hearer reports that he stayed so long that the hour-glass was turned up twice; while Rev. Mr. Syms, on the occasion of the formation of the Woburn Church, continued "in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five hours." The Lord's supper was usually administered once a month, at the close of the reading service. Lechford thus reports the order:

> Then one of the teaching elders prayes before, and blesseth, and consecrates the bread and wine, according to the words of institution; the other prayes after the receiving of all the members, and next communion they change turnes; he that began at the end, ends at this; and the ministers deliver the bread in a charger to some of the chiefs, and peradventure give to a few the bread in their hands, and they deliver the charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have dranke, goes from one to another. Then a psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed.

The most scrupulous arrangements were made for the seating of the congregation. The ruling elders sat in front of the pulpit, though a little lower down; the deacons sat on a still lower seat, all facing the congregation. The men sat on one side of the church, and the women on the other. But there was a certain order of civil and social dignity, which was changed from year to year, according to the changes in the dignity of the auditors. The children were placed by themselves, under the care of a tithing man. The Church was supported by voluntary gifts handed in at the public service. Lechford thus describes the method of receiving these contributions:

The magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and all the congregation of men and women in the absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or papers; and if it bee any other chattel, they set it or lay it downe before the deacons, and so passe another way to their seates again. This contribution is of money, or papers promising so much money. I have seen a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the communion. Which money and goods the deacons disburse towards the maintenance of the ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Church occasions, without making account, ordinarily.

The full details of all these arrangements for public service, the growth of the thanksgiving occasion, and especially the relative functions of the various Church officers, are given by Dr. Dexter with great fullness. His utilization of Felt, Palfrey, and other historians of the New England Church, is admirable, while his gleaning from those excellent local histories of New England towns and Churches, which are our best treasury for the genesis of the Congregational Church in this country, is thorough and fair. Not only to his text must we commend the reader for such detailed information of this character as we can find nowhere else in a single volume, but to his rich and full annotations, which have, without question, cost him more time and exhaustive labor than the body of his work.

The later history of Congregationalism is more familiar to the general student than the complicated and disturbed beginnings which have thus far occupied our attention. With all the freedom which the Pilgrims and their early successors enjoyed to develop their ecclesiastical life, the future brought its dark clouds of doctrinal differences. We refer to the Half-way Covenant. Away back in Leyden lay the germ of the great Congregational rupture of the eighteenth century. Because of small numbers and little growth this element of division could not assert itself. But, later on, when the Congregational territory was vastly broadened, there came the necessity for dealing with it. Shall unregenerate persons be granted access to the Lord's supper?—this was the fundamental question which Congregationalism was now compelled to confront. In Connecticut there was a strong party which favored the admittance of all persons of regular life to full communion in the Church-

Men who contributed to the support of the Gospel, and yet had no voice in calling the pastor, and were denied "the honors and privileges of Church membership for themselves and baptism for their children," protested against this severe condition. The Connecticut magistrates called a council, and the Massachusetts Court, desiring the co-operation of the Confederate Colonies, afterward ordered a council of thirteen of its own ruling elders. Connecticut was suspicious of results, but sent a limited representation. The meeting took place in Boston, in 1657, and concluded that it was the duty of adults who had been baptized when children, "though not yet fit for the Lord's supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents by entering thereinto in their own persons;" and that in case such parents "understand the grounds of religion, and are not scandalous, and solemnly own the *covenant* in their own person," there can be no sufficient cause to deny baptism to their children.

This action, instead of promoting peace, made the breach wider. Accordingly a Synod was called in Massachusetts, which met in 1662, and reached the conclusion allowing "baptized persons of moral life and orthodox belief to belong to the Church so far as to receive baptism for their children, and all privileges but that of the Lord's supper." The Connecticut Church, with Channing, Davenport, and others at its head, stubbornly opposed this resolution. They claimed that such a difference in Church membership was only technical, and that the granting of the privileges of membership to any but regenerate persons would fill the Church with a worldly and unsafe element. The Boston people adopted a strategic measure. When John Wilson, pastor of the First Church, died, in 1667, John Davenport, the champion of Connecticut orthodoxy, was invited to succeed him. Twenty-eight male members seceded, and formed the historic "Old South" Church. But this incident did not arrest the Half-way Covenant in Boston and other parts of New England north and east of Connecticut. In fact, it gained strength in the latter colony also, after the first generation of opposers had passed away. In 1700 the action of the Massachusetts Synod received its completion in the theory of Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, that "the Lord's supper is constituted to be a means of regeneration," and that men

"may, and ought to, come to it, though they know themselves to be in a natural condition." Here was consistency, at least. Many of the younger men adopted Stoddard's lax view, and this became the prevailing tendency of the Churches. The new liberty in the admission of members brought wealth and social position, but also a decided moral decline. Increase Mather called it an apostasy, and made the following prophecy: "If the begun apostasy should proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last, surely it will come to that in New England (except the Gospel itself depart with the order of it) that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather Churches out of Churches." The elders of the Massachusetts Colony called a Synod in September, 1679, to take into consideration the best methods to avert the numerous calamities that were now multiplying on sea and land, which, as the more pious believed, were judgments inflicted for the growing irreligiousness of the people. Dr. Dexter names some of these divine visitations:

A French and Indian war; the old Charter gone; Governor Andros come, and a Church of England service forcibly intruded into the South meeting-house; privateers infesting the coast; fires, hurricanes, very extraordinary hail-storms, floods whose violence damaged the channels of rivers; ministers' houses struck with lightning; news of a tremendous earthquake swallowing two thousand victims, followed by a pestilence sweeping away three thousand more, in Jamaica; the small-pox raging in New Hampshire, and again in the Carolinas; great losses of cattle; a scarcity of food, bringing the price of food up to the highest price ever known; the coldest weather in the winter since the country was settled; and the heavy cloud of the witchcraft delusion settling like a pall over some of the best places and best people of Massachusetts.

The Synod, interpreting these calamities as judgments, enumerated thirteen classes of sins that had invoked them, and recommended twelve classes of duties as a means of averting them. Of the result, says Dr. Dexter again:

This action of the Synod produced a good effect. Faithful ministers were much strengthened by it in laboring with their people, and devout Christians provoked to a more earnest piety. Many Churches made solemn renewal of their covenant with God. And the other Colonies, particularly those of Plymouth and Connecticut, to a considerable extent followed the lead of Massachusetts.

There was not sufficient reformation, however, in either Massachusetts or Connecticut to satisfy the more spiritual members of the Congregational Church. Hence, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, two efforts were made in favor of a stricter life—one in Massachusetts in 1705, and the other in Connecticut in 1708. The Synod of the latter, consisting of twelve ministers and four laymen, assembled in Saybrook, and adopted fifteen articles. The Boston Association, which had met in 1705, adopted certain proposals, which were regarded as too strongly Presbyterian for the body of Congregationalists. Both these conventions had less bearing on the religious life of the people than on the polity of the Church, and there was no positive and wide-spread spiritual revival until the Great Awakening, under Whitefield and his co-adjutors, in 1734–1742. Dr. Dexter thus summarizes the efforts of that remarkable revival: "It had a twofold influence. It added from forty to fifty thousand members to the Churches of New England; struck a death-blow at the Half-way Covenant, and its introduction of unconverted men to the communion table, if not to the pulpit; gave a mighty impulse to Christian education; reinvigorated Christian missions, and founded the Monthly Concert for the conversion of the world."

The great division of the Congregational Church by the Unitarian movement—a subject too extensive for treatment here—was a catastrophe such as few Churches have had to suffer, and constitutes a distinct chapter in our American ecclesiastical history. While the issue was met wisely and calmly, had Congregationalism been possessed of a strong, central, and connectional power, it is not likely that the rupture would have been as broad as it was. A Church government with less latitude to the individual congregation, has great advantage over any other when schismatic forces threaten the doctrinal structure. The separate Churches are then in large measure within the control of the whole governing system, and Church property does not become alienated by the doctrinal vagaries of few or many congregations.

The recent history of Congregationalism, both in the United States and England, abounds in proof of a thorough comprehension of the vital questions of the times and a capacity and courage in meeting them. Its missionary spirit is worthy of all

praise. One has only to observe the work it is now doing for the evangelization of the newer parts of our country to be convinced that the spirit of the Pilgrims has not left their descendants. Where would Kansas be to-day, but for its rescue from the grasp of the slave-holder by the Congregational sons of New England? And the wrong of Kansas was the one thing which opened the eyes of the nation to the magnitude of the crime of slavery, and its ready daring to occupy all our new fields.

In the study of ecclesiastical history one has frequent reminders of a certain parallelism that seems to pervade whole periods and embrace large religious bodies. The humble beginnings of Congregationalism and Methodism furnish us a beautiful illustration of this principle. They began within a few miles of each other, in Eastern England. The whole of that part of England where these two bodies arose has furnished the land with the most of its brains and heroism from the time when it first emerged from its Druid darkness down to the present time. The German, Danish, and Norwegian elements occupied it, and they carried on savage strife for many a century. By and by, though the Norman became ruler, this eastern shore of England was always fond of its old liberty, and knew when to strike its blows for independence. Cambridge became its school of advanced thinking and warm feeling. All the first teachers of Brownism, with Browne at the head, were Cambridge students. The first immigrant preachers of the Congregational Church here had breathed the free air of Cambridge, and were ready for the fight for freedom here. The old Norse spirit has never left the flats around Cambridge and Ely; and while Cardinal Wolsey was founding his new college at Oxford, and having his kitchen big enough for cooking whole oxen at once, on which his courtiers might fatten, the Cambridge students were living on scanty commons, and meditating what next to do, and where next to go for a larger breathing-place.

The wonder is that John Wesley did not go to Cambridge. Not all his family were Tories, but there was just enough of the Whig and the Liberal element in it to save him from absorption by it. Though his father did send him to Oxford, he never got rid of his eastern Viking blood, and when he was through with Tory Oxford, his liberal spirit asserted itself, and

he made the world his parish and posterity his friend. Methodism started from the humble Epworth rectory. But just a little way from it there had gone one day a little vessel that struck straight for the Dutch coast. This place was humble Scrooby, and the Brownists were on their way to Leyden. Epworth and Scrooby! Two little towns still, and never to be much larger, they have sent out currents that will never be stayed. They have done their work well in plowing deep channels for the great waters of the future. Not many stood at the dock to see the Brownists leave home, and, later, John Wesley was compelled to make a pulpit of his father's tombstone. But what of that? Those were only such unfriendly incidents as were needed to bring the steel of great souls into vigorous play. There was no seer at hand to tell what should be the influence of two Epworth boys on the world, the one in its song and the other in its soul; nor, over a century earlier, in 1607, to tell what was the true weight of William Brewster, John Robinson, and the rest of the passenger list in the Scrooby boat for Holland. But the liberty and evangelization of the western hemisphere were to be wrought out by these feeble initiatives. The heroes of both Scrooby and Epworth may not have had any clear thought as to what should be the issue of their work, but we suspect that, away down in the deep calms of their faith, there was an expectation that great results would come to distant lands from the labors to which they were impelled by the persecution of the unloving Church of England.

The part that Holland took in the Congregational and Methodist movements gives us another picture of the unconscious parallels of historical sequence. No Protestant battle was more bravely fought than that of Holland against Spain and her cruel Alva. When freedom came that little land spread her wings of commerce over every sea, and welcomed to her dykes the oppressed of all countries. Arminius taught in Leyden the theology that produced the Methodism of the later day, and the name Leyden warmed the chilled colony from Scrooby for their long voyage across the Atlantic and their long battle for freedom in this new land. Did not humble Leyden do her work well? Little did her people dream. as Arminius and Episcopius walked along her sleepy canals and crossed her curious bridges to their lecture rooms, that the

words spoken there would reverberate through all coming times; and they thought as little, too, that the Brownist guests from Scrooby were destined to be pioneers for freedom in Church and State throughout new America. But these parallels will never cease. God has his own way of leading his trusting children into the upward pathways, and those children cannot afford to forget that no mountain of sin is safe in its place if their faith be as the grain of mustard seed.

Art. VI.—HERMANN LOTZE.

In Germany Hegelianism is out of fashion. In England, Italy, and America a few thinkers, tired of their intellectual nakedness, and unable to weave a philosophical robe of their own, have seized upon and donned the cast-off garments of the Germans, and now parade the streets and by-ways of philosophy with all the peculiar Hegelian complacency and arrogance. The Germans enjoy the spectacle, and occasionally remark that foreign countries are fifty years behind Germany in their thought-development. The grains of truth in this quiet hint are just numerous enough to make it incisive and biting. To trace the causes of the fall of the great philosophical system that dominated German thought for the greater part of the first half of the century is not our purpose. Apart from its rotten foundations and paper buttresses, which eventually would have made it a mass of ruins, it had a vigorous and implacable enemy. Against pantheistic idealism, the blind worship of logical forms, the factitious deduction of the world with its varied life out of the necessary development of the Infinite idea —against Hegelianism in all its phases—stood the great Herbart. During his life his followers were comparatively few; but in the softer light of to-day he is seen to be, after Kant, the noblest figure in German philosophy. Says Wundt, the Leipsic professor, "Next to Kant I am most indebted to Herbart for the constructions of my own philosophical opinions."* In a word, almost every department of the systematical philosophy of the Germany of to-day has its roots in him.

* "*Physiologische Psychologie.*" Introduction.

Among those who have had their starting-point in Herbart's system, no one is more prominent than Hermann Lotze. He was born in Bautzen in 1817. At the early age of twenty-two he had taken his degrees in medicine and philosophy, and was acting as privat-docent in both of these departments in the University of Leipsic. At twenty-four he published his "*Metaphysik;*" at twenty-five his "*Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie,*" and three articles in Wagner's "*Handwörterbuch der Physiologie;*" at twenty-six his "*Logik;*" at thirty-four his "*Physiologie des Körperlichen Lebens;*" and at thirty-five his "*Medicinische Psychologie.* In these works of his earlier life we find the leading principles of his philosophy. Like Berkeley, Hume, and Schopenhaur, his development was rapid, and in his younger days the circle was described in which his thought was afterward to move. The most important of his publications in recent years have been "*Mikrokosmus,*" "*Geschichte der Aesthetik,*" "*Logik,*" and "*Metaphysik.*" The "*Mikrokosmus,*" now in its third edition, is a compendium of his system, and contains, in a somewhat popular form, his opinions on psychology, metaphysics, religion, ethics, æsthetics, and history. Though not the profoundest, it is the richest of the works, and its influence has made itself felt outside of the limits of the philosophic schools.

Lotze's life, like that of Kant, has been uneventful. He came to the little and quaint old university city of Göttingen as professor of philosophy in 1844, and has remained there ever since, declining recently a call to the great University of Berlin.* In the suburbs he has an old-fashioned house in the midst of a large garden, and in the fresh air of the fields and the thick shade of his trees he leads the ideal life of the philosopher.

In the short space of a review article an exposition of the entire system of Lotze would be impossible; and we propose to confine ourselves to a more or less coherent exposition of his "Philosophy of Religion," borrowing from his metaphysics what is necessary for completeness, and sketching his discussion of one or two questions that are now of special interest to the religious world.

* Since the above was written, Lotze has finally been induced to accept a professorship of philosophy in the University of Berlin.

In the logic of John Stuart Mill, where he is speaking of the "distribution of the primeval natural agents through the universe," occurs the following remarkable passage: "The utmost disorder is apparent in the combination of the causes which is consistent with the most perfect order in their effect; for when each agent carries on its own operations according to a uniform law, even the most capricious combination of agencies will generate a regularity of some sort, as we see in the kaleidoscope, where any casual arrangement of colored bits of glass produce, by the law of reflection, a beautiful regularity in the effect." In striking contrast is the following extract from Lotze, "Nature cannot be regarded as a kaleidoscope which is shaken by accident and made to produce figures that *appear* as if meaning was in them. If this meaning is to have real meaning, we must deal seriously with our postulate, and maintain the conviction that the same power that establishes in things their mechanical capacities for action, includes directly that form-determining fantasy, which provides these capacities for action with their points of application and assigns to them their significant directions." * In these two passages from Mill and Lotze we have a statement of the two methods of apprehending the cosmos, the casual, and the theological; both of them recognizing the supremacy and universality of laws, but the one attributing their conjunction to chance, the other to a purpose.

But Lotze is a teleologist of a unique type. In the first of his three articles in Wagner's "*Handwörterbuch der Physiologie*," he attacks with trenchant hand the theory of a vital force, and shows that the chemical and physical forces acting upon the organic germs are sufficient to explain the development of all life, and that there are no residual phenomena to be accounted for by an hypothesis of a vital force. This article was received with enthusiasm by the evangelists of necessity, and they welcomed Lotze with open arms. But they forgot, in the first place, that the occasion called for the expression of only one half of his theory, and, in the second place, that he had written in his "*Metaphysik*" that the "true beginning of metaphysics is in ethics;" and so when he began to emphasize the ideal side of life and to vindicate the longings of the *Gemüth*, he was charged with apostasy. How consistent he

* "*Mikrokosmus*," book ii, p. 9.

has been may be seen when he says that a mediation between mechanical necessity and freedom consists in showing "how unexceptionally universal is the extent of mechanism;" but he adds, "and how fully subordinate the mission is that it has to fulfill in the construction of the world." * In this idealization of the mechanical view of nature we have an anticipation of the course of Lotze's philosophy. But only a more detailed examination will show how this mediation between freedom and necessity is to be effected, and how the kaleidoscopic laws of Mill are to be fused into a higher unity. That the objects of the external world act upon each other and upon us is a fact thrust upon the naivest observation; and the mutual action and reaction of the ultimate particles of matter is an equally coercive fact for the scientific mind. But as cogent as is this fact of interaction (*Wechselwirkung*) we are involved in inextricable difficulties when we come to explain it. Consider for a moment the attraction of the earth and the moon. "O that is simple enough!" we are ready to say; "it is effected by the law of gravitation." But we have satisfied ourselves with the husks of delusion instead of the bread of knowledge, for a law is not a power extraneous to the bodies themselves, enforcing its dictates by virtue of its superiority of position, but only a humble formulation of their methods of action. Gravitation is only the general name of a mystery of which the attraction of the earth and moon is a specific case. But, it may be further argued, something goes out from each of the attracting bodies, and effects their interaction. This, however, only shoves the difficulty farther back, for this something must act on the body to which it comes; and thus all the old difficulties again arise. If it be said that a force is radiated, and that it brings about the phenomenon of approach, it is to be replied that the thought is unfruitful, and, when taken as a whole, contradictory. Turn the matter as we may, we can find no explanation of their mutual attraction, and we can do naught better than present ourselves at the confessional stool of philosophy with this frank avowal of our ignorance. "Bodies do work upon each other at a distance, but the *modus operandi* is one of nature's secrets." Transitive action, (*transeunte Wirkung*,) then, is a fact to be accepted without explanation.

* "*Mikrokosmus*." Introduction, p. 15.

But when we consider immanent action, (*immanente Wirkung,*) that is, the interaction between the parts of one and the same body, we are involved in a similar perplexity. Although the space between two atoms is almost infinitely small, yet the difficulties that encountered us in the thousands of miles between the earth and the moon are not one whit abated by less than microscopic distances. An attribute of one atom cannot go over to the others; for in the space between the two it would be nobody's attribute, which is to affirm and deny in one breath its attributive character. These difficulties in both transitive and immanent actions are not new; but in much of the Cartesian philosophy and in the college philosophy of to-day only one phase of it has been emphasized, the interaction of mind and matter. To explain this phenomenon, one philosopher devised the theory of "occasional causes," and Leibnitz that of "pre-established harmony." But the first did not escape the difficulty, for its very postulate was that matter could affect mind, and mind matter. For it was God, a spirit, who raised the arm, matter, on the occasion of a volition, and who excited a sensation on the occasions of the proper excitation of the nerves. The second was but little more successful. It assumed a primal action of God, a spirit, in the creation of the world of matter, and escaped further interaction only by a rigid and factitious predetermination of every phase of the universe's development. The action of mind on matter, then, is no more of a mystery than the action of matter on matter, and the persistency with which it is thrust forward as a subject demanding a specific explanation is simply an indication of the limitation of our philosophical horizon.

Though immanent action is a mystery, we have no hesitancy in accepting it as a matter-of-fact. All of us have wondered at the attraction of gravitation, and have tried to devise some mechanism by which it could be brought about; but few of us, however, have deemed the phenomenon of cohesion, or the transmission of motions from particle to particle, to be matters urgently demanding an explanation. To repeat our exposition in Lotze's own words:

> We regard this immanent action, developing state out of state in one and the same thing, as a fact that calls for no further effort of thought, but, at the same time, we are conscious that this

action in respect to its realization is fully incomprehensible. For how it is that a state m of a thing A proceeds to bring about a resulting state n is not one whit better understood by us than how the same state m proceeds to produce the state x in another thing B. Only the unity of the thing in which this incomprehensible process takes place makes it appear superfluous to ask after conditions of its possibility. We are, therefore, satisfied with immanent action not because we understand its genesis, but because we are aware of no hinderance to an unquestioned recognition of it as a given fact; for the different states of a subject must, we think, necessarily have an influence over each other. And, indeed, if we do not follow this fundamental thought, there will remain to us no means of finding an explanation for any event.*

In this aspect of immanent action, then, we find a hint that enables us not indeed to elucidate transitive action, but to illustrate it. Only where unity is, where each part is linked with the other, and where all together form one coherent whole, do we find that our faculties adapt themselves to the phenomenon of interaction. We must then cease to regard the world as made up of distinct elements, and begin to see in it a vital unity. This unity, indeed, is no working hypothesis, but is forced upon us by the very fact of interaction; for if bodies were entirely independent of each other, if each failed absolutely to influence the other, if each existed, as it were, in a world for itself, then all possibility of mutual action would be at an end, and life, growth, development, would be myths. The abyss that exists between separate bodies must be bridged, and this can be done only by making them part of the same organic whole. "The plurality of our cosmic theory must give place to a monism by which the ever-incomprehensible transitive action goes over into an immanent action." † At this critical point of Lotze's philosophy we deem it best to supplement our exposition by his own words. It is a point to which he himself more than once returns, and in our hands it cannot suffer by a partial repetition of its content:

> Not the empty shade of a course of nature, but the full reality of an infinite living being, whose innerly cherished parts form all finite things, can so bind together the manifoldness of the world that the interactions reach over the abysses which would eternally separate the individual elements from each other. For

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 96. † *Ibid.*, p. 137.

an action going out from the one is not lost in the nothingness that lies between it and the other, but as in all being (*Sein*) the really existing (*das wahrhaft Seiende*) remains one and the same, so the infinite reality (*Wesen*) works in all interaction only upon himself, and his energy never leaves the enduring basis of being. That which is active in one part is not shut up in itself and unknown to all others; nor does the individual state (*Zustand*) have to pass over an illimitable way in order to seek another element to whom it may communicate itself; nor, in fine, does it have to exert a power that is likewise incomprehensible in order to compel this indifferent second element to participate in its nature. Every excitation of a single thing is at the same time an excitation of the entire infinite in which it finds the living basis of its being; and thus each element is able to transmit its action to another having likewise the same basis. The infinite it is that through the unity of his nature causes the finite event here to be followed by its effect there, and no finite thing works upon another by means of its own finite power. On the contrary, each excitation of the individual thing moving the external basis that is the reality behind the shadow of all finite, is able to transmit its action to that which is apparently removed only through this continuity of their community of being.*

But this infinite being, that lies at the basis of the finite, plays a more important role than that of rendering possible the mutual action of the elements of the world. It is the "infinite substance," the "unifying being," the "one reality," in which all finite things are comprised as "modifications," "parts," "states," or "appearances." It assigns to every atom its sphere of action and the nature of its energy, and to every cause the amount and character of its effect. In all its varied changes it preserves its unity and adjusts a disturbance in one part by compensation in another. It is one and indivisible and all in all. We are approaching in this "infinite being" our conception of God; but it yet lacks many of the essential attributes: the chief among them being personality. Lotze passes in review the various arguments for the existence of God, and finds with Kant that they all fall short of their purpose. The teleological argument has, perhaps, the most claim to our consideration, but a candid examination of it discloses defects. "By seeking ye cannot find out God," was said long ago by the inspired seer, and Lotze but iterates the content of this thought in his denial of the worth of ratiocination as a means of est[illegible]

* "*Mikrokosmus*," vol. i.

lishing the existence of God. It has pleased him to revive the ontological argument, but in a form in which the original is scarcely recognizable. That alone is greatest which has a real existence. If our ideals, then, are to attain their full width, they must be more than mere thought. Now "we cannot prove, but only experience, that a beautiful something is beautiful," and so we cannot demonstrate, but only feel, that our idea of the one true, the one good, and the one beautiful, has its counterpart in reality. Immediately and without syllogistic confirmation we realize that "it is surely impossible that the greatest of all thinkable things does not exist." In this dictate of the feelings, then, we find that personality which was heretofore lacking to the infinite being of our reason. In taking the sum total of Lotze's argument for the existence of God, we find a marked similarity between his aim and that of Descartes in his second great argument; as both attempt to show, but by different argumentation, that the conservation of the world in each successive moment is possible only under the postulate of an infinite Being.

The asserted barrenness of philosophical research has served so often certain popular writers and orators of the "hard-fact" school with subject-matter for telling witticisms that it would be willful cruelty to show that philosophy has produced valuable and enduring results. Just here it is to our purpose to emphasize only this fact, the persistency with which philosophy throws up new problems for consideration. Until the time of Kant most philosophers regarded time and space as purely objective, and few questions were asked and answered concerning them. It is not one of the least of the many merits of Kant that he subjected these two intuitions or concepts to a rigid analysis, and showed many of the difficulties that arise from a postulation of their objective existence. This analysis was epochal in the history of philosophy. In the post-Kantian idealism space was reduced to a species of garment in which the infinite Idea revealed himself, and in the Herbartian realism it was held as a mere projection of the mind in the spaceless world, and thus entitled to only a subjective existence. This thought has fermented in the minds of all the post-Kantian philosophers, and has given rise to some peculiarly valuable and interesting psychological results. Lotze maintains the sub-

jectivity of space. Until somewhat recently he held also the subjectivity of time, but in his last work he expressly says that time must be given a certain degree of objectivity if the apparent succession of phenomena is to be explained. Deprived of all space-relations our hard and material world loses much of its hardness and materiality, and becomes what the Germans and French are pleased to call an *intelligible* world. But between it and the world of space—and here Herbart and Lotze diverge radically from Kant—there is an exact correspondence. A change of an element in the space world is represented by a change in the spaceless world; a motion of a body in the space world by the equivalent of a motion in the spaceless world. Indeed, so exact is this correspondence that the ratios in which different bodies stand to each other in the space world obtain likewise in the spaceless world. To illustrate that which is only thinkable and not conceivable, we may say that the space world is represented by the hands of a watch and the spaceless world by the hidden works. Every motion of the hands is represented by a motion of the works, and the ratios of the distances passed over by the hands are the same as the ratios of the corresponding motions of the wheels. But the illustration falls short. What is not amenable to illustration cannot be illustratively expressed.

Pushing our inquiries further back, and asking after the nature of this world behind the phenomenon, of this *noumenon*, we meet with one of the most striking features of the Lotzian philosophy. It maintains hylozoism. The world is not a series of points dead and cold and stiff, but each atom has its own conscious life, its own history, and its own enjoyment. Nature is more than it seems. What to us is a series of insentient particles, contributing only to our pleasure and our life, is, in reality, innumerable beings endowed with all the energy of conscious life. "Every pressure and every tension that matter undergoes, the repose of stable equilibrium and the separation of compounds, all these do not merely occur, but, occurring, are the object of some enjoyment or other."* Our author is not terrified by the consequences of his theory. He calmly meets the objection that it proves too much; that although we cherish the thought that the flower and the crystal are insti-

* "*Mikrokosmus*," vol. i, p. 400.

with sentient life, yet we revolt when we animate "the dust at our feet, the prosaic texture of our garments, and the material which the technic employs in the manufacture of the most diverse articles. . . . Dust is dust only for him whom it annoys. The indifferent form of the vessel just as little degrades the individual elements of which it is composed as a mean social condition, that represses all expression of intellectual life, annulls the lofty destiny to which these portions of oppressed humanity are called. When we speak of the divine origin and the lofty aims of human souls, we have then far more cause to throw a sorrowful glance upon this dust of the spiritual world, whose life appears to us so unfruitful and whose aim so fully missed." *

Lotze is both prose poet and scientist, and often there is only a step between his poetic inspiration and scientific precision. Albeit that the world is instinct with life, the results of chemistry and physics are in no degree invalidated. Iron delights in a union with oxygen, yet this delight is always expressed under the prosaic form of numerical equivalents; and the magnet finds pleasure in attracting its keeper, yet this pleasure can always be formulated under the unpoetic law of intensity inversely as the square of the distance. This self-consciousness of matter no more interferes with the laws of nature than our enjoyment of physical exercise disturbs the relation between the amount of muscular energy expended and the number of foot-pounds raised. Thus Lotze escapes the trenchant sentence of Kant which Wundt quotes with much approval, "Hylozoism is the death of natural philosophy." †

Hylozoistic doctrines have always been more or less popular in Germany, and, in addition to Lotze, are championed at present by Fechner and Zoellner. The German has a tender love for nature which the Anglo-Saxon mind can only with difficulty understand and appreciate. The flowers, the trees, the streams, the valleys, and the mountains are his friends, and he almost unconsciously invests them with life. This peculiar affection, the poetic feeling, the revolts against unproportion and waste, and the lofty benevolence that lavishes its highest good on all the objects around it, these incentives, more than logical reasons, have led Lotze to attribute conscious life to the

* "*Mikrokosmus*," vol. i, p. 407. † "*Logik*," p. 584.

material world. Thus are restored to objective nature the beauty, variety, and harmony that an advanced knowledge had deprived her of. Color, sparkle, sound, and odor exist only in the mind of the observer. A dreary monotony, we know not what, reigns supreme in the unperceived world. No light, no sound, no taste, no smell is there. But let a ray of conscious life be attributed to the minute particles of matter, and instantly the ether vibrations transform themselves into the glory of color and the air vibrations into the wealth of sound, although the eye and ear of man and beast be not upon the scene.

We have seen that with Lotze space is subjective and matter sentient; yet the language of this *intelligible* and animated world permits of a translation into the language of every-day life. Just as we say the sun sets—though, in reality, he remains relatively still—so we will still continue to speak of dimensions and distances, of rest and motion, of atoms and molecules, and of matter and mind.

Lotze is, with qualification, a champion of the atomic theory. He finds the ordinary hard atom of science, however, full of contradictions, and replaces it by a point that is the center of in and out-going forces. These atoms cannot be, as we have seen, independent of each other; for interaction is possible only when they are parts of a higher unity. They are potent with energy and spaceless, thus possessing the qualities that partly characterize the Lotzian philosophy. "The phenomenality of space and the inner activity of things, which we have substituted for the changes of external relations as the source of all comings to pass, (*Geschehen*,) are the two points in which we most contradict the ordinary opinions."* On their objective side the chemical elements are irreducible. Attempts have been made to make them all allotropic forms of one basal and typical element, but they retain their peculiarities too tenaciously to justify any hopes of success. On their subjective side they find an organic unity in God. *They are spiritual, not material.* Each one is a thought of God. Each is, as it were, a word with a fixed meaning, and just as words are susceptible of use in various sentences, so the elements are capable of forming many different combinations. The whole material world, then, with its play of color and harmony of

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 425.

sound, is thus resolved into a series of the thoughts of God. The earthly vanishes, the divine assumes its place. But listen to Lotze:

> Let us assume, in the first place, that an idea of definite content is so cogitated in God that all the consequences with which it encroaches upon the remaining world of his thought are also at the same time cogitated. And, in the second place, that these thoughts of God are precisely the power which causes the intuition ("*Anschauung*") of the external world to arise in finite minds. Or otherwise expressed: Let us suppose, in the first place, that a definite energy in the Infinite is so exercised that, in consequence of his unity, all of the other energies are, at the same time, exercised, which must follow from it in accordance with the universal conformity to law of this Infinite power; and, in the second place, that this activity of the Infinite is the operative might which produces in the finite mind a picture of the external world. Under these suppositions, then, these inner acts of the Infinite are, according to the idealistic theory, the real powers, which, operative in the Infinite and calling out and conditioning each other in conformity to law, produce that real result that is perceived secondarily by the individual minds as a world that embraces them and all external things.*

Thus we are brought again into the presence of the thought of the mystic Malebranche and the empiricist Berkeley, that we see all things in God. Many of our readers are ready to assume that our author has long since resolved the *we* into the infinite *One*, and that it is a mere play with words for us to speak of men's seeing the world in God. Write rather, say they, that all is God, and that God, not we, sees all things in himself.

But Lotze is neither pantheist nor panlogist. Both mind and matter are, as we have said, "states," "manifestations," "parts," "modifications" of God; but this is not equivalent to pantheism. Carrière, of the University of Munich, admirably fixes Lotze's place in the future history of philosophy. "Thus Lotze comes to that which I laid down more than thirty years ago as the problem of the present time, the union of the opposing principles of Spinoza and Leibnitz, of Hegel and Herbart, and, consequently, the subjection of pantheism and deism by a fusion of transcendence and immanence."† How Lotze escapes from this apparent logical dilemma, how this "fusion of

* "*Mikrokosmus*," vol. iii, p. 529. † "*Deutsche Revue*," January, 1880.

transcendence and immanence is impossible," we will let him show us in his own words:

It is true that so long as things are only states (*Zustände*) of the infinite they are nothing in themselves. Something must be won for them; and this evidently is the wish of that insistence on their existence outside of God. But things do not gain this true and genuine reality of being something in themselves, or even of being in themselves, by being placed outside of God; as if this transcendence, whose meaning it would be impossible to state, were the preliminary and formal condition on which existence *per se* (*Fürsichsein*) hung as a result. On the contrary, when something is in itself, when it refers itself to itself, when it comprehends itself as an ego, it thus separates itself from the infinite through its own very nature. It does not thus *acquire*, but *has* that existence out of the Infinite; nor does it fulfill any condition under which full reality, as an act of existence comprised and furnished by something else, first comes to it. Existence *per se*, or egoism,* (*Ichheit*,) is the only definition that expresses the essential content and worth of what we from accidental and badly chosen stand-points indicate as reality or independent being outside of God in contradistinction to immanence in God. Who, therefore, looks upon minds as like to things, which, indeed, is necessary, as states, thoughts, in modifications of God or the infinite, yet regards them as not a line serving to transmit from point to point, by means of their connections as links of a chain, the consequences of the nature of the infinite, but as enjoying at the same time by means of a reflex reference what they do and undergo as *their* states and *their* experiences of themselves; he who thus regards the matter, I say, and then still believes himself compelled to assign to these living minds that are immanent in God an existence outside of him, in order that in the fullest sense of the word they may be real, seems to us no longer to know what he wishes, no longer to know that he has long since had the full and entire kernel to which he anxiously seeks the shell.†

This immanence of all things in God is a necessary outcome of Lotze's first principles. As we have seen, no one thing can act upon another in so far as they are parts of the same organic whole; and, consequently, if there is to be communication between the finite mind and the infinite mind it must be by means of the immanence of the finite in the infinite. Mediating between realism and idealism, Lotze can be called an ideal-realist. Pantheism and ideal realism agree in this, that all finite things are states of the Infinite; they differ in this, that

* Of course, in its philosophical signification.

† "*Mikrokosmus*," vol iii, p. 530.

the one denies, the other assigns, them an individuality. Additional significance may be given to the difference when it is emphasized that Lotze is a resolute champion of the freedom of the will.

Tendency-philosophy is somewhat hazardous. Theories that in one generation are used to substantiate a certain phase of thought are employed in the next to support directly its opposite. If Jonathan Edwards could rise up from the tomb and see the motley crowd that swarms around his doctrine of necessity, he would unquestionably probe again into the depths of the will, and not, indeed, with the prepossession that he would bring out determinism. We are reminded of the waggish tricks of "Puck" when we see Mr. Spencer quote with serious mien Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansell as the great apostles of his favorite theory of agnosticism, and acknowledge himself as a faithful and loving disciple of these masters. Hegel said that he established in his system only those principles that every child learned in its catechism; and yet under his protecting wing nestled Feuerbach, with his coarse materialism, and Bauer, with his radical criticism. Truly it would be going too far to supplement the words of Hamlet, and say, In philosophy "nothing is either good or bad, but thinking makes it so;" yet the results that we have just traced of certain theories are sufficient to show how much depends on the individuality of the thinker, and how dangerous it is in philosophy to denominate a doctrine as unqualifiedly good or unqualifiedly bad.

Weakening thus the unpleasant connotation of the expression "philosophic skepticism," we will show how far it figures in the philosophy of Lotze. As different as John Stuart Mill and Lotze are in their aims and methods, the one theistic, the other positive, yet skepticism plays a not insignificant role in the system of each. A comparison of one or two passages will show how near they can approach each other in this respect. Many of our readers are familiar with this famous passage of Mill:

> It must at the same time be remarked that the reasons for this reliance (or the law of causation) do not hold in circumstances unknown to us and beyond the possible range of experience. In distant parts of the stellar regions where the phenomena may be entirely unlike those with which we are acquainted, it would be

folly to affirm confidently that this general law prevails any more than those special ones which we have found to hold universally on our own planet. The uniformity in the succession of events otherwise known as the law of causation, must be received not as a law of the universe, but of that portion of it only which is within the range of our means of sure observation, with a reasonable degree of extensions to adjacent cases. To extend it further is to make a supposition without evidence, and to which, in the absence of any ground from experience for estimating its degree of probability, it would be ridiculous to affect to assign any.*

The passage from Lotze, though not bearing on causation, has a remarkable similarity to the one quoted from Mill (though written without reference to it,) the coyness of transcending the domain of experience being exhibited equally well in both:

I can by no means consider it as self-evident that the tie of gravitation binds together all existing elements according to the same law, as if they were mere selfless examples of a mass capable of use. We know its validity for the solar system alone, and only for a number of the double stars may the supposition be correct that they are also held in their paths by a like mutual attraction, whose law, indeed, is unknown. But that the same action extends itself from one connected system of elements in space to another also connected is by no means as well proved and as irrefutable as is the homogeneous transmission of the undulations of light. †

Or, again, compare the following passages:

I am convinced that any one accustomed to abstraction and analysis, who will fairly exert his faculties for the purpose, will, when his imagination has once learned to entertain the notion, find no difficulty in conceiving that in some one, for instance, of the many firmaments into which sidereal astronomy now divides the universe, events may succeed one another at random, without any fixed law; nor can any thing in our experience or in our mental nature constitute a sufficient nor indeed any reason for believing that this is nowhere the case. ‡

Says Lotze:

I would be the last to deny the great worth and the indispensableness of the other method of thinking, which, in our mechanics, bases its calculations upon the abstract concept of mass and its constancy, force and its persistence, inertia and the immutability of the elements. . . . But I am the last to ascribe to these theories, which are mere abstractions out of the short sketches

* "Logic," p. 342. † "*Metaphysik*," p. 461. ‡ "Logic," p. 338.

of the course of nature accessible to us, that metaphysical truth that would entitle them to decide these questions that transcend all experience. *

This denial of metaphysical validity to the scientific doctrines of the permanence of matter and the persistence of force demands further consideration. To those who are accustomed to regard the external world as composed of hard and material atoms, to a great degree independent of each other, and acting together, as it were, only by courtesy, it is about impossible to conceive the quantity of matter as being either increased or decreased. But to Lotze, who resolves the chemical elements into the thoughts of God, and who regards him not as a fixed quantity, but as a spirit, an intellect, an idea, developing itself in accordance with a definite plan, it is readily conceivable that the number of these thoughts may become greater or smaller, according to the exigences of the development of this fundamental idea—just as our working vocabulary increases or decreases in proportion to the complexity or simplicity of the subject we are elaborating—and this change on its objective side will be an increase or decrease of the quantity of matter. The persistence of force is questioned by a similar process of reason. We are finite, and can catch only vexatious glimpses of the shadowings forth of the Infinite. Cornered off into one little part of the universe, and allotted only an insignificant time for observation, we can readily fail to grasp the true workings of nature. It may be that the universe is like a sense spring, whose force is released by every power which removes the hinderances to its positive and perceptible action. It is true that this supposition is not confirmed by experience, but experience is limited. The universe, then, instead of being a fixed quantity, moving itself within the limits of a determined quantity of force—instead of being, as it were, a simple tone ever monotonously repeating itself—may be regarded as a melody now sinking down to a few simple notes, now bursting forth in all the wealth of a rich and varied harmony.

The position of Lotze toward the question that has excited during the last fifteen or twenty years a feverish interest among all classes cannot fail to be of interest. We can, of course, but refer to the doctrine of evolution. He has never entered into

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 462.

a detailed discussion of it, and our exposition must consequently be brief. He regards the permanence of types as evidence sufficiently strong to refute the theory of Darwin. Basing himself on the persistence with which different races of men maintain their characteristic features, despite the influences of different climates, soils, and methods of life, he argues that no change of environment nor inheritance of variation will justify the conclusion that all life has sprung from a few primal germs. He believes in different centers of creation, and his position leads him to assume separate creative acts for the different races of men. But waiving all discussion of the scientific side of evolution, we wish to emphasize one or two of his statements that bear on its moral phase. "Whichever of the two ways of creation God may have chosen, neither will cause the dependence of the world on him to become laxer, neither will attach it to him more firmly.* This is a bugle-call back to reason. Startled by the brilliant results of Darwin's work, the thinking world has written too much that is akin to the following passage from "The Nation:" "Channing's theology, much as he did to liberalize that of New England, is already absolute in the details of his creed, created no school, and has nothing in it *which will guarantee it against the undermining influences of the doctrine of evolution.*" Lotze's protest against such permature judgments is timely and valuable. Be the world specially created or evolved, with him moral questions are moral questions, and with burning sarcasm he deprecates the resolving of the science of ethics into a question of worms and frogs. But he protests likewise against the persistence with which some writers limit the creative methods of God to that of special creation.

> Even the religious sense dare not prescribe to God the way in which he shall further develop his creation. We can remain assured that however undutiful this way might be, the guidance of the hand of God would not pass away. Man, who prolongs his life by consumption of the common products of nature, has no right to claim an ineffably noble origin of this his body. And, moreover, he must value himself according to what he is, and not according to that from which he has arisen. It suffices that we no longer feel ourselves to be monkeys, and it is a matter of indifference whether our remote ancestors, whom we no longer

* "*Microcosmus*," vol. ii, p. 158.

remember, belonged or not to this lower stage of life. Painful only would it be if we were compelled to become monkeys again, and this event impended in the near future.*

Since the revival of the study of natural science the possibility of miracles has again become the theme of more or less controversy. The emphatic protest that Lotze makes against any hypostization of laws, and his rigid subjection of the finite elements to the dictates of the Infinite, permits readily the inference that in his system miracles can have a place. The power that works them does it through his close relation to the inner nature of things, changing it, and thus bringing about the result in a manner that violates no law. Just as a galvanic current passed through water so changes the nature of the component atoms, hydrogen and oxygen, that their chemical affinity is destroyed, and they are given off as elementary gases, without in the meantime any law being violated; so God modifies the inner nature of things, and prepares them thus for new and unusual methods of action. But once again we must acknowledge the imperfection of our illustration.

"That whose worth and meaning entitles it to be a permanent member of the world's economy will live eternally; that which lacks this preserving worth will be destroyed." Such is Lotze's formulated answer to the momentous question of the soul's immortality. With him any demonstration is impossible. To call the soul a substance, and thus to entitle it to immortality, is to prove too much. If it is indestructible it cannot have been created, and, consequently, must have pre-existed. Moreover, having no right to limit the substantial nature to human souls, the immortality of the souls of animals is assured. And, further, the souls in the world being limited to a fixed number, we are brought dangerously near the doctrine of metempsychosis in the transmigration of souls. Such, when pushed to its legitimate consequences, are the results of the hypothesis of the soul as indestructible substance. Nothing remains to us, then, but the opening thought of the paragraph—the worthful is eternal.

Here we break off our exposition with the remark, that Lotze's "*Medicinische Psychologie*" has been the stimulus to the physiological psychology of Germany, and that his theory

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 465.

of the *Localzeichen* is one of the most important contributions of the century to psychology. That we have done scant justice to Lotze we are fully aware. As a Gothic cathedral, seen through haze and distance, loses its splendor and becomes a mere outline, so does a system like Lotze's lose its glory when seen through the fog of a magazine article. And as the cathedral, on a nearer view, reveals its numerous statues, its pointed arches fretted with tracery, its flying buttresses delicate in their strength, and its tower, with its graceful supports and pinnacles swinging itself audaciously into the heavens; so only through a study of his books themselves does Lotze's system reveal its many lofty thoughts, its graceful reticulations of dialectic subtleties, its flashes of poetic insight, inspiring and revealing, and its majestic unity which bases itself on the solid ground of experience, and, adorned with the idealized facts of labor, trade, domestic life, and history, rises up to the Eternal One. Lowell asserts that "with the gift of song Carlyle would have been the greatest of epic poets since Homer." Lotze is likewise a prose-poet, but his prose is lyrical. To the rare combination —absent in the philosophy of Carlyle—of exact thought and poetic energy, he owes much of his power. With him is "every-where the aspect of the whole universe marvel and poetry, while prose is only the limited and one-sided perception of small regions of the finite." Lotze is a great spirit, and, as Ribot says, "worthy of our full homage."

Art. VII.—HARRIET MARTINEAU.

In the autobiography of Harriet Martineau, we are presented with what must be considered a decidedly interesting book. It is the story of a woman who, with little of the quality called *genius*, yet resolutely and persistently employed the talents given her, and "made a covenant with labor as her portion and pleasure under the sun."

This remarkable lady was born at Norwich, England, in 1802. She was of French Protestant descent, her earliest recorded ancestor having emigrated to England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. She was the sixth of eight children, all of

whom seem to have received the best education which their parents could afford them; admonishing them, at the same time, that they must regard their education as their only secure portion.

Harriet improved well the advantages afforded her, acquiring, in the course of her school training, a knowledge of the Latin and French languages, to which she afterward added Italian and German, and was duly "exercised in composition as well as reading, in her own language and others." It was remarked of her, however, that in her childhood and youth there were few or no tokens of unusual talents or ability. "Her health was delicate, her spirits low, her habits of mind anxious, and her habits of life silent." It added seriously to the disadvantages of her youth—as well as of all her after life—that, at about twelve years of age, a slight deafness began to develop itself, which, growing upon her, rendered it necessary for her to use a trumpet during the remainder of her life.

Miss Martineau early addicted herself to the practice of composition, and her first appearance in print was before she was twenty years of age. Her earliest writings were mainly of a religious character, evincing Unitarian leanings; while, throughout her long and extraordinary career of authorship, it seemed to be characteristic of her that she wrote because she *must* write. Thoughts appeared to swarm within her and clamor for utterance; so that never, while health permitted, did her pen grow weary.

It soon transpired, however, that an additional necessity called for the exercise of her faculty of composition. The small fortunes falling to herself and sisters being lost by the failure of the house where their funds were intrusted, she suddenly found herself poor, and that it had now become necessary to provide, by her own labor and industry, for her support. Such was the occasion of one of her early and most successful literary efforts. This was her series of "Illustrations of Political Economy." An enterprise of this character might seem peculiar, especially as an undertaking of a lady, and a lady, too, not yet thirty years of age. But she was deeply impressed with the necessity of such a work, particularly for the instruction of the laboring classes, as well as for the influence which she hoped might be brought to bear upon the higher orders of

society. This literary enterprise embraced a series of tales the scenery of which was laid in different localities and countries, exhibiting, by skillful and interesting pen pictures, the great natural laws of society. It was a simple and unpretentious work—not professing "to offer discoveries or new applications of discoveries. It popularized in a fresh form some doctrines and many truths long before made public by others."

In introducing this series of tales to the public the author experienced uncommon difficulties and struggles, the story of which may afford a useful moral to other young authors. She had applied to several publishing houses, all of which declined to issue the work. She at length, however, gained the ear of one publisher, who seemed partially inclined to attempt it. But he suddenly changed his mind, and was disposed to abandon the whole project. He had been advised against the enterprise, and presented a multitude of objections; while her final interview with him, as related by herself, is thus pictured:

I said to him, "I see you have taken fright. If you wish that your brother should draw back, say so now. There is the advertisement; make up your mind before it goes to press." He replied, "I do not wish altogether to draw back." "Yes, you do," said I; "and I would do so at once. But I tell you this—the people want this book, and they shall have it!" "I know that is your intention," he replied; "but I do own I do not see how it is to come to pass." "Nor I; but it shall," said I. Mr. Fox insisted that his brother should not go on with the publication unless its success was secured within a fortnight. "What do you mean by its success being secured?" asked Miss Martineau. "You must sell a thousand copies in a fortnight," was the reply. No wonder that the poor lady was discouraged. "I began now at last to doubt whether my work would ever see the light. I thought of the multitudes who needed it—and especially of the poor—to assist them in managing their own welfare. I thought, too, of my own conscious power of doing this very thing. . . . At last it was necessary to go to bed; and at four o'clock I went, after crying for two hours with my feet on the fender. I cried in bed till six, when I fell asleep. But I was at the breakfast table by half-past eight, and ready for the work of the day."

But her hour of triumph came. The publication commenced: and before the eventful fortnight ended, instead of the requisite one thousand, *five* thousand copies had been demanded. "From that hour," she writes, "I have never had any other anxiety about employment than what to choose, or any real care about money."

This series of tales comprised over a score of numbers, were issued once a month, and exhibited her best ability and success in this species of composition. Several other works of fiction proceeded from her pen, although this kind of writing seems not to have been her forte. The judgment of critics has been, that "the artistic aim and qualifications necessary for the successful execution of such compositions were absent—that she lacked power of dramatic construction, and that poetical inspiration and critical cultivation without which no work of the imagination can be worthy to live."

Soon after completing her series of pieces illustrative of political economy, Miss Martineau determined on a season of rest from literary labor. For this purpose she, in the summer of 1834, embarked at Liverpool for the United States, being actuated by a desire to witness for herself the practical operation of our institutions. Her reputation as an author preceded her to this country, and she was received and treated with distinction. After visiting various northern cities and the national capital, she journeyed to the South, and traveled somewhat extensively in the slave States, it being a special object of desire with her to study the subject of slavery as then existing in that portion of the Republic. She had always cherished sentiments opposed to the institution, and her southern travels do not seem to have exerted an influence, as with many other travelers, to modify or change her antislavery views, except to strengthen and confirm them.

It happened that Miss Martineau's visit to this country occurred at that period of time when antislavery feeling began to be specially aroused, and when, also, the country, North as well as South, arose in violent opposition to the sentiments and operations of abolitionism. The mob spirit became sadly prevalent, and lawless violence frequently broke forth—encouraged, too often, by many people of respectable standing in society. Meantime, Miss Martineau's sympathies were decidedly with the abolitionists; nor did she hesitate to avow her sentiments, although conducting herself with commendable prudence and discretion. It followed, as a matter of course, that she at once met caste with many who, on her arrival here, welcomed her to their homes and firesides; while the evidence from her narrative is not slight that even she herself was not exempt from

danger growing out of the rabid spirit of the time. After a two years' visit here she embarked for England, and reached her native shores in safety. "When I returned home," she wrote, "the daily feeling of security, and of sympathy in my antislavery views, gave me a pleasure as intense as if I had returned from a long exile."

The next spring following her return home Miss Martineau published "Society in America," and afterward "Retrospect of Western Travel." Other works followed in rapid succession, such as, "How to Observe;" "Morals and Manners;" several volumes of "Guides to Service;" her novels, "Deerbrook" and "The Hour and the Man;" four volumes of children's tales, entitled "The Playfellow;" and "Life in the Sick Room." The most voluminous and laborious of her works was her "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," occupying her about one year; and, including the introduction, comprising three volumes. She also published "Eastern Life—Present and Past," which seems to have been deemed the best of her writings. Some smaller works succeeded, such as "Guides to the Lakes," "Household Education," and others; while accompanying all these multitudinous works were articles from her pen for various periodical publications, too numerous for specification. Among her last literary enterprises was a condensed translation of Comte's "Positive Philosophy," which she finished in November, 1853.

Miss Martineau, with all her love of literature and retirement, did not confine herself entirely to her beloved England. In addition to her protracted visit and extensive travels in this country, she in 1839 traveled in the south of Europe, and some years afterward visited Egypt, Palestine, and adjacent regions, a tour which gave rise to her "Eastern Life."

The autobiography of Miss Martineau seems to have been her last considerable work, and is the one in which the reading world will be the most deeply interested. It was written to be published after her decease, and when all praise or censure of the book would be nothing to her. Perhaps this consideration had its influence in that remarkable independence of thought and freedom of expression so characteristic of the entire narrative.

Of this freedom and singular plainness of speech we have

ample illustration in her remarks touching one and another of the distinguished characters of her time.

Of William Taylor, for example, she writes that his knowledge of German literature was a distinction which injured him. He was completely spoiled by the flatteries of shallow men and pedantic and conceited women.

Mrs. Barbauld she thought one of the finest writers in our language; and the best example of a woman of a sound classical education.

Brougham she distrusted; believing him vain and selfish, low in morals and unrestrained in temper, talking exceedingly fast, eating fast and prodigiously, profane and indecent in conversation, envious, jealous, and false.

Jeffrey had a warm heart, was generous to an extreme, a great converser, and had a cordial sympathy with all elevated sentiments.

Mrs. Trollope ranked low in the estimation of Miss Martineau; and she denounced manfully the "dirty pages" of her slanderous book on this country.

Sydney Smith she liked from the beginning, with all his bluffness and abundant witticisms. As a conversationalist, he was glorious; but she considered his manners and many of his sentiments as not very clerical, and judged him as having mistaken his calling, not having the spiritual tendencies and endowments suited to a clergyman.

Malthus, the political economist, was one of her friends; and he was pleased to tell her that her tales illustrating his favorite science had reported his views precisely as he could have wished.

Hallam was at his brightest when she first knew him. She enjoyed his works greatly, especially his "History of Literature;" and had a profound respect for him as an author before ever dreaming of him as a friend.

Southey she reports as gentle, kindly, and agreeable; but at the time of her meeting him seemed to be declining.

Bishop Whately she pictures as odd, of overbearing manners, sometimes rude and tiresome, and at other times full of instruction. She records that, when once alluding to his lawn sleeves, he said, "I don't know how it is; but when we have got these things on, we never do any thing more."

Monkton Milnes she liked for his catholicity of sentiment and manner, his ability to sympathize with all manner of thinkers and speakers, and being above all exclusiveness; and she pronounces his person wonderfully beautiful.

Of Grote, the historian, she speaks as being constitutionally timid and shy; which qualities he endeavored to conceal by a curious, formal, old-fashioned, deliberate courtesy. But she deemed him a grand man and a gentleman, as well as a scholar and author, while his reputation in these respects, she says, was always of the highest.

Mr. Roebuck, she writes, was full of knowledge, full of energy, full of ability; but possessed of much vanity, of lively spirits when well, and very highly agreeable as a guest or host.

To Mr. Macaulay, whom as a scholar and author we all revere so much, Miss Martineau takes many serious exceptions. Conceding his imposing and real ability, she, however, proceeds to excoriate him unmercifully, denouncing him as wanting heart, as unreliable, as fundamentally weak in his speeches and writings, and as failing signally as a legislator and politician. His History she pronounces a mere historical romance; takes him to task for his plagiarisms, for his slanderous attacks on William Penn, for his loose and unscrupulous method of narrating, for divers misrepresentations; and, in a word, transfixes the poor man, and holds him up before the world as simply a stupendous failure.

Campbell, the poet, she pictures as being too sentimental, and having a craving for praise too inordinate and morbid to allow him to be an agreeable companion.

Babbage, inventor of the calculating machine, she describes as extremely sensitive to what was said of him as an author; collecting every thing in print about himself, pasting them in a large book, and gloating and growling over them for whole days.

Of Lyell and Darwin she was a special admirer, while they, with their devoted wives, were ever-welcome visitors. Of Madam Lyell especially she speaks with enthusiasm, affirming that she grew handsomer, brighter, and more cheery from year to year.

The great Mrs. Somerville was also one of her friends, and her she characterized as of great simplicity, always well-dressed,

and thoroughly womanly in conversation and manners, with beautiful surroundings at her home, where, among other things, were several drawers filled with diplomas from sundry learned bodies.

Of Joanna Bailey, also, she speaks with great admiration, describing her as one whose serene and cheerful life was never troubled by the pains and penalties of vanity.

Allan Cunningham comes in for many pleasant words of approval. His simple sense and cheerful humor rendered his conversation as lively as that of a wit, while his literary knowledge and taste gave it refinement enough to suit any society.

Macready was artificial, but a more delightful companion could not be. A chivalrous spirit, unsleeping domestic tenderness, and sweet beneficence, all combined to make him the idol of society.

Carlyle, of course, was one of her heroes; and her characterization of this singular genius is more extensive than that of others. She was a frequent visitor at his Chelsea home, and consequently saw him in the more prominent phases of his character. Of one of his moods she thus writes: "The sympathetic is, by far, the finest in my eyes. This excess of sympathy has been, I believe, the torment of his life;" and she indulged the notion that the savageness which has come to be the prominent characteristic of this remarkable man is a mere expression of his intolerable sympathy with suffering people. "He cannot," she adds, "express his love and pity in natural acts like other people, and it shows itself too often in unnatural speech;" that is, in speech that is savage and ferocious. All this may be so, but plain and simple people will conclude it to be the first and last case of such a paradox in the history of the race. Miss Martineau's opinion of Carlyle was extremely favorable, and she deemed that he was worthy of being recognized as one of the chief influencers of his time.

Her estimate of Coleridge was not so exalted, though for a time she greatly admired him as a poet. He appeared to her to have been constitutionally defective in will, in conscientiousness, and in apprehension of the real and true.

Of the Brownings she writes that Robert was full of good sense and fine feeling; full, also, of fun, and a real genius; while she praises the genius of Mrs. Browning, esteeming her

poetry as wonderfully beautiful in its way. She pronounces them a remarkable pair.

In a sketch like this, it is, of course, indispensable that we pass over a multitude of interesting incidents associated with the life of this notable woman. Also, it is time to revert to the religious aspect of her character, or, more properly, to that sad "eclipse of faith" that gradually settled over her mind, and shut out from her vision all idea and hope of that glorious immortality brought to light in the gospel, and so precious with every Christian heart.

Miss Martineau, in her childhood and as she grew up, had received a Christian training, and passed no morning or evening without prayer. It is melancholy, therefore, to trace the gradual decline of her faith in the great scheme of redemption, and in revelation itself, until, in the course of her reading and speculation, she stranded, at length, on the stern rock of *necessity;* whence, through a long after-life of half a century, she was never extricated.

The views to which, at about twenty years of age, she had drifted, may be considered as embodied in the following propositions: The New Testament proceeds on the ground of *necessity;* and the fatalistic element pervades the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. The practice of prayer is wholly unauthorized in the New Testament, and Christian prayer, as now offered, answers to the Pharisaic prayers which Christ condemned. Miss Martineau, therefore, gradually ceased from all prayer, whether for herself or others. She professed to find herself a better person when she cared least about being good; and found, or thought she found, that working out her own salvation was demoralizing. Every thing in the material and spiritual world being fixed by immutable laws, she reached the same condition of ease about her spiritual as her temporal welfare, and, to use her own language, she "felt it better to take the chance of being damned (as she viewed damnation) rather than to be always quacking one's self in the fear of it." Then as prayer ceased, so all praise was laid aside, for she expressed herself as ashamed to offer to God a homage that would be offensive to a human being.

Thus with this distinguished lady all faith and worship ceased forever, and she reached the conclusion that Christian

ity is a monstrous superstition, having the character of a mere fact in the history of the universe. There *may* be another life, but she does not believe it; she does not desire it; she indulges no care about it. If she finds it to be true, "all right," says she. Ay, most certainly, *all right;* but what will be involved in those two little words!

But we hasten to close at once this very imperfect notice of a very remarkable book—the production of a very remarkable woman. The pages additional to the autobiography, by Mrs. Chapman, Miss Martineau's editor and devoted friend, will be read, especially by American readers, with almost equal interest with the autobiography itself. We lay aside these volumes with mingled feelings of pleasure and sadness: pleasure, on the one hand, at the thought of what may be accomplished by a diligent pen, whether in the hand of man or woman; and sadness, on the other, at the possibility that an intelligent and talented lady of enlightened Britain, and in the nineteenth century, should most deliberately turn away from the light and hopes of Christianity, and embrace quietly, and apparently without the slightest misgivings, the darkness and hopelessness of paganism.

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, January, 1881. (Philadelphia.)—1. A Glance at the Conflict between Religion and Science; by Rev. S. Fitzsimons. 2. The Joyous Knights: or, Frati Gaudenti; by Rev. Bernard J. O'Reilly. 3. The Anticatholic Issue in the Late Election—The Relation of Catholics to the Political Parties; by John Gilmary Shea. 4. Ireland's Great Grievance—Land Tenure in Ireland and other Countries; by M. F. Sullivan. 5. The Existence of God Demonstrated; by Rev. John Ming, S. J. 6. Lord Beaconsfield and his Latest Novel; by John M'Carty. 7. The Religious Outlook in Europe at the Present Day; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. 8. The French Republic, Will it Last? by A. de G.

Baptist Review, January, February, March, 1881. (Cincinnati.)—1. Organization and Personality; by President David J. Hill. 2. The Antiquity of Man—Its Present Phase; by Rev. E. Nisbet, D.D. 3. The Will in Theology; by President Augustus H. Strong, D.D. 4. Some Conditions of Pulpit Power; by Rev. Samuel Graves, D.D. 5. The Doctrine of Two Messiahs among the Jews; translated from the German, by Rev. J. F. Morton. 6. The Denominational Work of President Manning; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 7. Moral Lessons from the Word; by Rev. Philip L. Jones. 8. The Old Testament Apocrypha; by Prof. John A. Broadus, D.D., LL.D.

Lutheran Quarterly, January, 1881. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Asperity of Luther's Language; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Confessional Principle and the Confessions; by H. E. Jacobs, D.D. 3. Notes on Some Postulates in the New Ethics; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 4. Philosophy of Religion; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D. 5. Is the Lord's Day only a Human Ordinance? by M. Valentine, D.D. 6. Some Elements of Family Religion; by Rev. J. C. Koller, A.M.

New Englander, January, 1881. (New Haven.)—1. Horace Bushnell; by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin. 2. Bayard Taylor's Posthumous Works; by Professor Franklin Carter. 3. Beówulf Gretti; by Prof. C. Sprague Smith. 4. The Irish Land Question; by Henry Carter Adams, Ph.D. 5. The Teaching of Church History as to the Method of the World's Conversion; by Rev. William De Loss Love. 6. A Humble Apology; or, Is the Pulpit Insincere? by Rev. M. C. Welch. 7. A Word with the Spelling Reformers; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1881. (Boston.)—1. Sketch of the Life of the Hon. John Howe Peyton; by Col. J. T. L. Preston. 2. The Rev. John Eliot's Record of Roxbury Church Members; by William B. Trask, Esq. 3. Longmeadow Families; by Williard S. Allen, A.M. 4. Diary of the Hon. Paul Dudley, 1740; by B. Joy Jeffries, M.D. 5. Records of Dartmouth, Mass.; by the late James B. Congdon. 6. Taxes under Gov. Andros; by Walter Lloyd Jeffries, A.B. 7. Lieut. John Bryant and Descendants; by William B. Lapham, M.D. 8. Quincy Family Letters; by Hubbard W. Bryant, Esq. 9. Early Records of Gorgeana; by Samuel L. Boardman, Esq. 10. The Youngman Family; by John C. J. Brown, Esq. 11. Cabo de Baxos, or the Place of Cape Cod in the Old Cartology; by Rev. B. F. De Costa. 12. Descent of Margaret Locke, Wife of Francis Willoughby; by Col. Joseph L. Chester, LL.D. 13. Letters of Shirley and Moulton; by N. J. Herrick, Esq. 14. The Atherton Family in England; by John C. J. Brown, Esq. 15. Grantees of Meadow Lands in Dorchester; by William B. Trask, Esq. 16. Wright Genealogy by Rev. Stephen Wright. 17. Letters Written during the Revolution; by John S. H. Fogg, M.D.

Princeton Review, January, 1881. (New York.)—1. Grounds of Knowledge and Rules for Belief; by Mark Hopkins. 2. The Public Schools of England; by Prof. William M. Sloane, Ph.D. 3. The Historical Proofs of Christianity; by George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 4. Christian Morality, Expediency and Liberty; by Prof. Lyman H. Atwater. 5. Legal Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic; by Henry Wade Rogers. 6. Is Thought Possible without Language? by Prof. Samuel Porter. 7. Presidential Elections and Civil Service Reform; by William G. Sumner.

Universalist Quarterly, January, 1881. (Boston.)—1. The Light of Asia; by G. T. Flanders, D.D. 2. Faith or Faithfulness? by Austin Bierbower. 3. A Study of American Archæology; by Rev. J. P. M'Lean. 4. Revelations of God; by Rev. S. Crane. 5. Materialistic Conceptions of Religion; by Prof. J. S. Lee. 6. Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God; by Rev. Mary J. S. De Long. 7. New Defenses of Endless Punishment; by T. J. Sawyer, D.D.

Contemporary Review, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Unity of Nature; by the Duke of Argyll.

We give, from the "Contemporary Review" for September, 1880, this initial article—an article remarkable both for beauty of style and force of argument—omitting the introductory part for want of room. The point of the argument is, that the unity of the universe and the unity of God reciprocally demand and demonstrate each other. Monotheism he holds to have been the primitive doctrine of God, derived from original revelation. And, amid the complexities of nature, there is a

oneness that shows the truth of the primitive belief. His first proof of this unity is derived from gravitation, which binds the material worlds in one. This argument was given in an article with great clearness some years ago, in our pages, by Professor Winchell; we, therefore, omit it, and proceed to the second.

Nor is gravitation the only agency which brings home to us the unity of the conditions which prevail among the worlds. There is another: Light—that sweet and heavenly messenger which comes to us from the depths of Space, telling us all we know of other worlds, and giving us all that we enjoy of life and beauty on our own. And there is one condition of unity revealed by Light which is not revealed by gravitation. For, in respect to gravitation, although we have an idea of the *measure*, we have no idea of the *method*, of its operation. We know with precision the numerical rules which it obeys, but we know nothing whatever of the way in which its work is done. But in respect to Light, we have an idea not only of the measure, but of the mode of its operation. In one sense, of course, Light is a mere sensation in ourselves. But when we speak of it as an external thing, we speak of the cause of that sensation. In this sense, Light is a wave or an undulatory vibration, and such vibrations can only be propagated in a medium which, however thin, must be material. Light, therefore, reveals to us the fact that we are united with the most distant worlds, and with all intervening space, by some ethereal atmosphere which embraces and holds them all. Moreover, the enormous velocity with which the vibrations of this atmosphere are propagated proves that it is a substance of the closest continuity, and of the highest tension. The tremors which are imparted to it by luminous bodies rush from particle to particle at the rate of 186,000 miles in a second of time; and thus, although it is impalpable, intangible, and imponderable, we know that it is a medium infinitely more compact than the most solid substance which can be felt and weighed. It is very difficult to conceive this, because the waves or tremors which constitute Light are not recognizable by any sense but one; and the impressions of that sense give us no direct information on the nature of the medium by which those impressions are produced. We cannot see the luminiferous medium except when it is in motion, and not even then, unless that motion be in a certain direction toward ourselves. When this medium is at rest we are in utter darkness, and so are we also when its movements are rushing past us, but do not touch us. The luminiferous medium is, therefore, in itself invisible; and its nature can only be arrived at by pure reasoning—reasoning, of course, founded on observation, but observation of rare phenomena, or of phenomena which can only be seen under those conditions which man has invented for analyzing the relations of his own most glorious sense. And never, perhaps, has man's inventive genius been more signally displayed than in

the long series of investigations which first led up to the conception, and have now furnished the proof, that light is nothing but the undulatory movement of a substantial medium. It is very difficult to express in language the ideas upon the nature of that medium which have been built up from the facts of its behavior. It is difficult to do so, because all the words by which we express the properties of matter refer to its more obvious phenomena—that is to say, to the direct impressions which matter makes upon the senses. And so, when we have to deal with forms of matter which do not make any impressions of the same kind—forms of matter which can neither be seen, nor felt, nor handled, which have neither weight, nor taste, nor smell, nor aspect—we can only describe them by the help of analogies as near as we can find. But as regards the qualities of the medium which causes the sensation of light, the nearest analogies are remote, and, what is worse, they compel us to associate ideas which elsewhere are so dissevered as to appear almost exclusive of each other. It is now more than half a century since Dr. Thomas Young astonished and amused the scientific world by declaring of the luminiferous medium that we must conceive of it as finding its way through all matter as freely as the air moves through a grove of trees. This suggests the idea of an element of extreme tenuity. But that element cannot be said to be thin in which a wave is transmitted with the enormous velocity of light. On the contrary, its molecules must be in closest contact with each other when a tremor is carried by them through a thickness of 186,000 miles in a single second. Accordingly, Sir J. Herschel has declared that the luminiferous ether must be conceived of not as an air, nor as a fluid, but rather as a solid—"in this sense at least, that its particles cannot be supposed as capable of interchanging places, or of bodily transfer to any measurable distance from their own special and assigned localities in the universe."* Well may Sir J. Herschel add that "this will go far to realize (in however unexpected a form) the ancient idea of a crystalline orb." And thus the wonderful result of all investigation is, that this earth is in actual rigid contact with the most distant worlds in space—in rigid contact, that is to say, through a medium which touches and envelops all, and which is incessantly communicating from one world to another the minutest vibrations it receives.

The laws, therefore, and the constitution of Light, even more than the law of gravitation, carry up to the highest degree of certainty our conception of the universe as one—one, that is to say, in virtue of the closest mechanical connection, and of the prevalence of one universal medium.

Moreover, it is now known that this medium is the vehicle not only of Light, but also of Heat, while it has likewise a special power of setting up, or of setting free, the mysterious action of chemical affinity. The beautiful experiments have become

* "Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects," p 285.

familiar by which these three kinds of ethereal motion can be separated from each other in the solar spectrum, and each of them can be made to exhibit its peculiar effects. With these again the forces of galvanism and electricity have some very intimate connection, which goes far to indicate like methods of operation in some prevailing element. Considering how all the forms of Matter, both in the organic and in the inorganic worlds, depend on one or other, or on all of these—considering how Life itself depends upon them, and how it flickers or expires according as they are present in due proportion—it is impossible not to feel that in this great group of powers, so closely bound up together, we are standing very close indeed to some pervading, if not universal, agency in the mechanism of Nature.

This close connection of so many various phenomena with different kinds of movement in a single medium is by far the most striking and instructive discovery of modern science. It supplies, to some extent, a solid physical basis, and one veritable cause for part, at least, of the general impression of unity which the aspects of Nature leave upon the mind. For all work done by the same implement generally carries the mark of that implement, as it were of a tool, upon it. Things made of the same material, whatever they may be, are sure to be like in those characteristics which result from identical or from similar properties and modes of action. And so far, therefore, it is easy to understand the constant and close analogies which prevail in that vast circle of phenomena which are connected with Heat, Light, Electricity, Chemical and Vital Action.

But although the employment of one and the same agency in the production of a variety of effects is, no doubt, one cause of the visible unity which prevails in Nature, it is not the only cause. The same close analogies exist where no such identity of agency can be traced. Thus the mode in which the atmosphere carries Sound is closely analogous to the mode in which the ether carries Light. But the ether and the atmosphere are two very different agents, and the similarity of the laws which the undulations of both obey is due to some other and some more general cause of unity than identity of material. This more general cause is to be found, no doubt, in one common law which determines the forms of motion in all matter, and especially in highly elastic media.

But, indeed, the mere physical unity which consists in the action of one great vehicle of power, even if this were more universally prevalent than it is known to be, is but the lowest step in the long ascent which carries us up to a unity of a more perfect kind. The means by which some one single implement can be made to work a thousand different effects, not only without interference and without confusion, but with such relations between it and other agents as to lead to complete harmonies of result, are means which point to some unity behind and above the implement itself—that is to say, they point to some unity in the method of

its handling, in the management of the impulses which, receiving, it conveys, and in the arrangement of the materials on which it operates.

No illustration can be given of this higher kind of unity which is half so striking as the illustration which is afforded by the astonishing facts, now familiar, as to the composition of solar light. When we consider that every color in the spectrum represents the motion of a separate wave or ripple, and that, in addition to the visible series, there are other series, one at each end of the luminous rays, which are non-luminous, and, therefore, invisible—all of which consist of waves equally distinct; when we consider, further, that all these are carried simultaneously with the same speed across millions of miles; that they are separable, and yet are never separated; that they are more accurately together, without jostling or confusion, in perfect combination, yet so that each shall be capable of producing its own separate effect—it altogether transcends our faculties of imagination to conceive how movements of such infinite complication can be united in one such perfect order.

And be it observed that the difficulty of conceiving this is not diminished, but increased, by the fact that these movements are propagated in a single medium; because it is most difficult to conceive how the particles of the medium can be so arranged as to be capable of conveying so many different kinds of motion with equal velocities and at the same instant of time. It is clear that the unity of effect which is achieved out of this immense variety of movements is a unity which lies altogether behind the mere unity of material, and is traceable to some one order of arrangement under which the original impulses are conveyed. We know that in respect to the waves of Sound the production of perfect harmonies among them can only be attained by a skillful adjustment of the instruments, whose vibrations are the cause and the measure of the aerial waves which, in their combination, constitute perfect music. And so, in like manner, we may be sure that the harmonies of Heat, Light, and Chemical Action, effected as they are among an infinite number and variety of motions, very easily capable of separation and disturbance, must be the result of some close adjustment between the constituent element of the conveying medium and the constituent elements of the luminous bodies, whose complex, but joint, vibrations constitute that embodied harmony which we know as Light. Moreover, as this adjustment must be close and intimate between the properties of the ether and the nature of the bodies whose vibrations it repeats, so also must the same adjustment be equally close between these vibrations and the properties of Matter on which they exert such a powerful influence. And when we consider the number and the nature of the things which this adjustment must include, we can, perhaps, form some idea of what a bond and bridge it is between the most stupendous phenomena of the heavens and the minutest phenomena of earth. For this adjustment must be

perfect between these several things—first, the flaming elements in the sun which communicate the different vibrations in definite proportion; next, the constitution of the medium, which is capable of conveying them without division, confusion, or obstruction; next, the constitution of our own atmosphere, so that neither shall it distort, nor confuse, nor quench the waves; and, lastly, the constitution of those forms of Matter upon earth which respond, each after its own laws, to the stimulus it is so made as to receive from the heating, lighting, and actinic waves.

In contemplating this vast system of adjustment it is important to analyze and define, so far as we can, the impression of unity which it makes upon us; because the real scope and source of this impression may very easily be mistaken. It has been already pointed out that we can only see likeness by first seeing difference, and that the full perception of that in which things are unlike is essential to an accurate appreciation of that in which they are the same. The classifying instinct must be strong in the human mind, from the delight it finds in reducing diverse things to some one common definition. And this instinct is founded on the power of setting differences aside, and of fixing our attention on some selected conditions of resemblance. But we must remember that it depends on our width and depth of vision whether the unities which we thus select in Nature are the smallest and the most incidental, or whether they are the largest and the most significant. And, indeed, for some temporary purposes—as, for example, to make clear to our minds the exact nature of the facts which science may have ascertained—it may be necessary to classify together, as coming under one and the same category, things as different from each other as light from darkness. Nor is this any extreme or imaginary case. It is a case actually exemplified in a lecture by Professor Tyndall, which is entitled "The Identity of Light and Heat." Yet those who have attended the expositions of that eminent physical philosopher must be familiar with the beautiful experiments which show how distinct in another aspect are Light and Heat; how easily and how perfectly they can be separated from each other; how certain substances obstruct the one and let through the other; and how the fiercest heat can be raging in the profoundest darkness. Nevertheless, there is more than one mental aspect, there is more than one method of conception, in terms of which these two separable powers can be brought under one description. Light and Heat, however different in their effects—however distinct and separable from each other—can both be regarded as "forms of motion" among the particles of matter. Moreover, it can be shown that both are conveyed or caused by waves, or undulatory vibrations in one and the same ethereal medium. And the same definition applies to the chemical rays, which again are separable and distinct from the rays both of light and heat.

But although this definition may be correct as far as it goes, it is a definition, nevertheless, which slurs over and keeps out of

sight distinctions of a fundamental character. In the first place, it takes no notice of the absolute distinction between Light or Heat considered as sensations of our organism, or as states of consciousness, and Light or Heat considered as the external agencies which produce these sensations in us. Sir W. Grove has expressed a doubt whether it is legitimate to apply the word "Light" at all to any rays which do not excite the sense of vision. This, however, is not the distinction to which I now refer. If it be an ascertained fact, or if it be the only view consistent with our present knowledge, that the ethereal pulsations which do, and those which do not, excite in us the sense of vision are pulsations exactly of the same kind and in exactly the same medium, and that they differ in nothing but in periods of time or length of wave, so that our seeing of them, or our not seeing of them, depends on nothing but the focusing, as it were, of our eyes, then the inclusion of them under the same word "Light" involves no confusion of thought. We should confound no distinction of importance, for example, by applying the same name to grains of sand which are large enough to be visible, and to those which are so minute as to be wholly invisible even to the microscope. And if a distinction of this nature—a mere distinction of size, or of velocity, or of form of motion, were the only distinctions between Light and Heat—it might be legitimate to consider them as identical, and to call them by the same name. But the truth is, that there are distinctions between them of quite another kind. Light, in the abstract conception of it, consists in undulatory vibrations in the pure ether, and in these alone. They may or may not be visible—that is to say, they may or may not be within the range of our organs of vision, just as a sound may or may not be too faint and low, or too fine and high, to be audible to our ears. But the word "heat" carries quite a different meaning, and the conception it conveys could not be covered under the same definition as that which covers Light. Heat is inseparably associated in our minds with and does essentially consist in, certain motions, not of pure ether, but of the molecules of solid or ponderable matter. These motions in solid or ponderable matter are not in any sense identical with the undulatory motions of pure ether which constitute Light; consequently when physicists find themselves under the necessity of defining more closely what they mean by the identity of Heat and Light, they are obliged to separate between two different kinds of Heat—that is to say, between two wholly different things, both covered under the common name of Heat—one of which is really identical in kind with Light, and the other of which is not. "Radiant" Heat is the kind, and the only kind of Heat, which comes under the common definition. "Radiant" Heat consists in the undulatory vibrations of pure ether which are set up or caused by those other vibrations in solid substances or ponderable matter, which are Heat more properly so called. Hot bodies communicate to the surrounding ethereal medium vibrations of the same kind with light, some of

these being, and others not being, luminous to our eyes. Thus we see that the unity or close relationship which exists between Heat and Light is not a unity of sameness or identity, but a unity which depends upon, and consists in, correspondences between things in themselves different. It has been suggested that the facts of Nature would be much more clearly represented in language if the old word "Caloric" were revived, in order to distinguish one of the two very different things which are now confounded under the common term "Heat"—that is to say, Heat considered as molecular vibration in solid or ponderable matter, and Heat considered as the undulatory vibrations of pure ether which constitute the "Heat" called "radiant." Adopting this suggestion, the relations between Light and Heat, as these relations are now known to science, may be thrown into the following propositions, which are framed for the purpose of exhibiting distinctions not commonly kept in view:

I. Certain undulatory vibrations in pure ether alone are Light, either (1) visible or (2) invisible.

II. These undulatory vibrations in pure ether alone are not Caloric.

III. No motions of any kind in pure ether alone are Caloric.

IV. Caloric consists in certain vibratory motions in the molecules of ponderable matter or substances grosser than the ether, and these motions are not undulatory.

V. The motions in ponderable matter which constitute Caloric set up or propagate in pure ether the undulatory vibrations which constitute Light.

VI. Conversely, the undulatory vibrations in pure ether which constitute Light set up or propagate in grosser matter the motions which are Caloric.

VII. But the motions in pure ether which are Light cannot set up or propagate in all ponderable matter equally the motions which are Caloric. Transparent substances allow the ethereal undulations to pass through them with very little Caloric motion being set up thereby; and if there were any substance perfectly transparent, no Caloric motion would be produced at all.

VIII. Caloric motions in ponderable matter can be and are set up or propagated by other agencies than the undulations of ether, as by friction, percussion, etc.

IX. Caloric, therefore, differs from Light in being (1) motion in a different medium or in a different kind of matter; (2) in being a different kind of motion; (3) in being producible without, so far as known, the agency of light at all. I say "so far as known," because, as the luminiferous ether is ubiquitous, or as, at least, its absence cannot anywhere be assumed, it is possible that in the calorific effects of percussion, friction, etc., undulations of the ether may be always an essential condition of the production of Caloric.

It follows from these propositions that there are essential distinctions between Light and Heat, and that the effect of lumi-

niferous undulations, or "Radiant" Heat, in producing Caloric in ponderable matter depends entirely upon, and varies greatly in accordance with, the constitution or structure of the substances through which it passes, or upon which it plays.

The same fundamental distinction applies to those ethereal undulations which produce the effects called Chemical. No such effects can be produced upon substances except according to their special structure and properties. Their effect, for example, upon living matter is absolutely different from the effect they produce upon matter which does not possess vitality. The forces which give rise to chemical affinity are wholly unknown. And so are those which give rise to the peculiar phenomena of living matter. The rays which are called Chemical may have no other part in the result than that of setting free the molecules to be acted upon by the distinct and separate forces which are the real sources of chemical affinity.

What, then, have we gained when we have grouped together, under one common definition, such a variety of movements and such a variety of corresponding effects? This is not the kind of unity which we see and feel in the vast system of adjustments between the sun, the medium conveying its vibrations, and the effect of these on all the phenomena of earth. The kind of unity which is impressed upon us is neither that of a mere unity of material, nor of identity in the forms of motion. On the contrary, this kind of unity among things so diverse in all other aspects is a bare intellectual apprehension, only reached as the result of difficult research, and standing in no natural connection with our ordinary apprehension of physical truth. For our conception of the energies with which we have to deal in Nature must be molded on our knowledge of what they do, far more than on any abstract definition of what they are; or rather, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that our conception of what things are can only be complete in proportion as we take into our view the effects which they produce upon other things around them, and especially upon ourselves, through the organs by which we are in contact with the external world. If in these effects any two agencies are not the same—if they are not even alike—if, perhaps, they are the very antithesis of each other—then the classification which identifies them, however correct it may be, as far as it goes, must omit some characteristics which are much more essential than those which it includes. The most hideous discords which can assail the ear, and the divinest strains of heavenly music, can be regarded as identical in being both a series of sonorous waves. But the thought, the preparation, the concerted design—in short, the unity of mind and of sentiment, on which the production of musical harmony depends, and which it again conveys with matchless power of expression to other minds—all this higher unity is concealed and lost if we do not rise above the mere mechanical definition under which discords and harmonies can nevertheless be in this way correctly classed together. And

yet so pleased are we with discoveries of this kind, which reduce, under a common method of conception, things which we have been accustomed to regard as widely different, that we are apt to be filled with conceit about such definitions, as if we had reached in them some great ultimate truth on the nature of things, and as if the old aspects in which we had been accustomed to regard them were by comparison almost deceptive; whereas, in reality, the higher truth may well have been that which we have always known, and the lower truth that which we have recently discovered. The knowledge that Light and Heat are separable, that they do not always accompany each other, is a truer and juster conception of the relation in which they stand to us, and to all that we see around us, than the knowledge that they are both the same in respect of their being both "modes of motion." To know the work which a machine does is a fuller and higher knowledge than to know the nature of the materials of which its parts are composed, or even to perceive and follow the kind of movement by which its effects are produced. And if there be two machines which, in respect to structure and movement and material, are the same, or closely similar, but which, nevertheless, produce totally different kinds of work, we may be sure that this difference is the most real and the most important truth respecting them. The new aspects in which we see their likeness are less full and less adequate than the old familiar aspects in which we regard them as dissimilar.

But the mind is apt to be enamored of a new conception of this kind, and to mistake its place and its relative importance in the sphere of knowledge. It is in this way, and in this way only, that we can account for the tendency among some scientific men to exaggerate beyond all bounds the significance of the abstract definitions which they reach by neglecting differences of work, of function, and of result, and by fixing their attention mainly on some newly-discovered likeness in respect to form, or motion, or chemical composition. It is thus that, because a particular substance called "Protoplasm" is found to be present in all living organisms, an endeavor follows to get rid of Life as a separate conception, and to reduce it to the physical property of this material. The fallacy involved in this endeavor needs no other exposure than the fact that, as the appearance and the composition of this material is the same whether it be dead or living, the Protoplasm of which such transcendental properties are affirmed has always to be described as "living" Protoplasm. But no light can be thrown upon the facts by telling us that life is a property of that which lives. The expression for this substance which has been invented by Professor Huxley, is a better one—the "Physical Basis of Life." It is better, because it does not suggest the idea that Life is a mere physical property of the substance. But it is, after all, a metaphor which does not give an adequate idea of the conceptions which the phenomena suggest. The word "basis" has a distinct reference to a mechanical sup-

port, or to the principal substance in a chemical combination. At the best, too, there is but a distant and metaphorical analogy between these conceptions and the conceptions which are suggested by the connection between Protoplasm and Life. We cannot suppose Life to be a substance supported by another. Neither can we suppose it to be like a chemical element in combination with another. It seems rather like a force or energy which first works up the inorganic materials into the form of protoplasm, and then continues to exert itself through that combination when achieved. We call this kind of energy by a special name, for the best of all reasons, that it has special effects, different from all others. It often happens that the philosophy expressed in some common form of speech is deep and true, while the objections which are made to it in the name of science are shallow and fallacious. This is the case with all those phrases and expressions which imply that Life and its phenomena are so distinguishable from other things that they must be spoken of by themselves. The objection made by a well-known writer,* that we might as well speak of "a watch force" as of "a vital force," is an objection which has no validity, and is chargeable with the great vice of confounding one of the clearest distinctions which exist in Nature. The rule which should govern language is very plain. Every phenomenon or group of phenomena which is clearly separate from all others should have a name as separate and distinctive as itself. The absurdity of speaking of a "watch force" lies in this—that the force by which a watch goes is not separable from the force by which many other mechanical movements are effected. It is a force which is otherwise well-known, and can be fully expressed in other and more definite terms. That force is simply the elasticity of a coiled spring. But the phenomena of Life are not due to any force which can be fully and definitely expressed in other terms. It is not purely chemical, nor purely mechanical, nor purely electrical, nor reducible to any other more simple and elementary conception. The popular use, therefore, which keeps up separate words and phrases by which to describe and designate the phenomena of Life, is a use which is correct and thoroughly expressive of the truth. There is nothing more fallacious in philosophy than the endeavor by mere tricks of language, to suppress and keep out of sight the distinctions which Nature proclaims with a loud voice.

It is thus, also, that because certain creatures widely separate in the scale of being may be traced back to some embryonic stage in which they are undistinguishable, it has become fashionable to sink the vast differences which must lie hid under this uniformity of aspect and of material composition under some vague form of words in which the mind makes, as it were, a covenant with itself not to think of such differences as are latent and invisible, however important we know them to be by the differences of result to which they lead. Thus it is common now to speak of things

* Mr. G. H. Lewes.

widely separated in rank and function being the same, only "differentiated," or "variously conditioned." In these, and in all similar cases, the differences which are unseen, or which, if seen, are set aside, are often of infinitely greater importance than the similarities which are selected as the characteristics chiefly worthy of regard. If, for example, in the albumen of an egg there be no discernible differences either of structure or of chemical composition; but if, nevertheless, by the mere application of a little heat, part of it is "differentiated" into blood, another part of it into flesh, another part of it into bones, another part of it into feathers, and the whole into one perfect organic structure, it is clear that any purely chemical definition of this albumen, or any purely mechanical definition of it, would not merely fail of being complete, but would absolutely pass by and pass over the one essential characteristic of vitality which makes it what it is, and determines what it is to be in the system of Nature.

Let us always remember that the more perfect may be the apparent identity between two things which afterward become widely different, the greater must be the power and value of those invisible distinctions—of those unseen factors—which determine the subsequent divergence. These distinctions are invisible, not merely because our methods of analysis are too coarse to detect them, but because, apparently, they are of a nature which no physical dissection and no chemical analysis could possibly reveal. Some scientific men are fond of speaking and thinking of these invisible factors as distinctions due to differences in "molecular arrangement," as if the more secret agencies of Nature gave us the idea of depending on nothing else than mechanical arrangement—on differences in the shape or in the position of the molecules of matter. But this is by no means true. No doubt there are such differences—as far beyond the reach of the microscope as the differences which the microscope does reveal are beyond the reach of our unaided vision. But we know enough of the different agencies which must lie hid in things apparently the same to be sure that the divergences of work which these agencies produce do not depend upon or consist in mere differences of mechanical arrangement. We know enough of those agencies to be sure that they are agencies which do, indeed, determine both arrangement and composition, but do not themselves consist in either.

This is the conclusion to which we are brought by facts which are well known. There are structures in Nature which can be seen in the process of construction. There are conditions of matter in which its particles can be seen rushing under the impulse of invisible forces to take their appointed place in the form which to them is a law. Such are the facts visible in the processes of crystallization. In them we can see the particles of matter passing from one "molecular condition" to another; and it is impossible that this passage can be ascribed either to the old arrangement which is broken up, or to the new arrangement which is substituted in its stead. Both structures have been

built up out of elementary materials by some constructive agency which is the master and not the servant—the cause and not the consequence—of the movements which are effected, and of the arrangement which is their result. And if this be true of crystalline forms in the mineral kingdom, much more is it true of organic forms in the animal kingdom. Crystals are, as it were, the beginnings of Nature's architecture, her lowest and simplest forms of building. But the most complex crystalline forms which exist—and many of them are singularly complex and beautiful—are simplicity itself compared with the very lowest organism which is endowed with Life. In them, therefore, still more than in the formation of crystals, the work of "differentiation"—that is to say, the work of forming out of one material different structures for the discharge of different functions—is the work of agencies which are invisible and unknown; and it is in these agencies, not in the molecular arrangements which they cause, that the essential character and individuality of every organism consists. Accordingly, in the development of seeds and of eggs, which are the germs of plants and animals respectively, the particles of matter can be traced moving, in obedience to forces which are unseen, from "molecular conditions" which appear to be those of almost complete homogeneity to other molecular conditions which are of inconceivable complexity. In that mystery of all mysteries, of which physicists talk so glibly, the living "nucleated cell," the great work of creation may be seen in actual operation, not caused by "molecular condition," but determining it, and, from elements which to all our senses and to all our means of investigation appear absolutely the same, building up the molecules of Protoplasm, now into a sea-weed, now into a cedar of Lebanon, now into an insect, now into a fish, now into a reptile, now into a bird, now into a man. And in proportion as the molecules of matter do not seem to be the masters but the servants here, so do the forces which dispose of them stand out separate and supreme. In every germ this development can only be "after its kind." The molecules must obey; but no mere wayward or capricious order can be given to them. The formative energies seem to be as much under command as the materials upon which they work. For, invisible, intangible, and imponderable as these forces are—unknown and even inconceivable as they must be in their ultimate nature—enough can be traced of their working to assure us that they are all closely related to each other, and belong to a system which is one. Out of the chemical elements of Nature, in numerous but definite combinations, it is the special function of vegetable life to lay the foundations of organic mechanism; while it is the special function of animal life to take in the material thus supplied, and to build them up into the highest and most complicated structures. This involves a vast cycle of operations, as to the unity of which we cannot be mistaken—for it is a cycle of operations obviously depending on adjustments among all the forces both of solar and terrestrial physics—and every part of

this vast series of adjustments must be in continuous and unbroken correlation with the rest.

Thus every step in the progress of science which tends to reduce all organisms to one set of elementary substances, or to one initial structure, only adds to the certainty with which we conclude that it is upon something else than composition and structure that those vast differences ultimately depend which separate so widely between living things in rank, in function, and in power. Although we cannot tell what that something is—although science does not as yet even tend to explain what the directive agencies are or how they work—one thing, at least, is plain: that if a very few elementary substances can enter into an untold variety of combinations, and by virtue of this variety can be made to play a vast variety of parts, this result can only be attained by a system of mutual adjustments as immense as the variety it produces, as minute as the differences on which it depends, and as centralized in direction as the order and harmony of its results. And so we come to understand that the unity which we see in nature is that kind of unity which the mind recognizes as the result of operations similar to its own—not a unity which consists in sameness of material, or in identity of composition, or in uniformity of structure, but a unity which consists in similar principles of action—that is to say, in like methods of subordinating a few elementary forces to the discharge of special functions, and to the production, by adjustment, of one harmonious whole.

North American Review, February, 1881. (New York.)—1. The Nicaragua Canal; by General U. S. Grant. 2. The Pulpit and the Pew; by Oliver Wendell Holmes. 3. Aaron's Rod in Politics; by Judge Albion W. Tourgee. 4. Did Shakspeare write Bacon's Works? by James Freeman Clarke. 5. Partisanship in the Supreme Court; by Senator John T. Morgan. 6. The Ruins of Central America, Part VI; by Désiré Charnay. 7. Poetry of the Future; by Walt Whitman.

Notwithstanding the great name of General Grant, and the great importance of the isthmian transit, the prime article of this number is Judge Tourgee's on "Aaron's Rod in Politics." Wrapt up in this enigmatical title is a very able discussion of the method of removing the illiteracy of the people, especially of the Southern States, and the endowing every voter with the intelligence necessary to an intelligent vote. The proportions of this illiteracy is thus presented:

Voting population of the United States	7,623,000
" " " former slave States	2,775,000
Illiterate male adults in the United States	1,580,000
" " " former slave States	1,123,000
Per cent. illiterate voters in United States to entire vote	20
" " " slave States	45
" " " States not slave	9
" " " South Carolina	59
Illiterate voters in Southern States (white)	304,000
" " " (colored)	819,000

From this table the following facts will be apparent:

1. The sixteen Southern States contain about one third of our voting population, and *almost three fourths of our illiteracy.*

2. Forty-five per cent. of the voters of the Southern States are unable to read their ballots.

3. The illiteracy of the South, plus six per cent. of its literate voters, can exercise the entire power of those States.

4. If this illiterate vote be neutralized by force or fraud, a majority of the intelligent voters, or twenty-eight per cent. of the entire vote of those States, will exercise their entire national strength.

These States have one hundred and thirty-eight electoral votes; or, in other words, they exercise *seventy-two per cent.* of the power necessary to choose a President or constitute a majority in the House of Representatives, and *eighty-four per cent.* of a majority in the Senate.

By reason of their ignorance, forty-five per cent. of the voters of the South are unable:

1. To know what is their political duty.
2. To be sure that their votes actually represent their wishes.
3. To secure the counting of the ballots which they cast.
4. To protect themselves in the exercise of their ballotorial privileges.—P. 144.

We lately read in a Southern Methodist paper an ingenious article, evidently written by a man of culture, claiming to show that a common school education was unnecessary for public political safety, for our fathers, who founded our Constitution, were illiterate, having in fact no common school system. The article was self-contradictory. For, if ignorant men can construct a government just as well as the educated, why could he not have framed just as good an article without the knowledge of grammar, orthography, or penmanship? Judge Tourgee had evidently encountered this argument, and gives reply:

Our Founders were Picked Men.

The immigration to our shores (except the pauper and penal immigration to some of the Southern plantations) had chiefly been confined to religious malcontents, who came to avoid persecution, and persons who voluntarily left their homes to seek advantage from settlement in unbroken wilds. This very fact stamps them as among the most enterprising, far-seeing and determined of their respective classes. They were really picked men. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest never had a better illustration than in the settlement of the American colonies. This was the main reason why our early settlers, coming as they did chiefly from the middle and lower classes of England, developed so sud-

denly a capacity for self-government, invented new governmental forms, and adapted themselves to untried conditions with such astonishing ease.—P. 149.

Our author would not raise a fund and intrust it to any State, since ample experience shows that it would be very liable to be squandered by the demagogues in the Southern States, as other national bestowments have been. He would adopt the

Model of the Peabody Fund.

It is, in effect, the plan adopted in the distribution of the Peabody Fund, and has there shown itself well calculated both to secure immunity from imposition and also to awaken public interest and co-operation in educational work. By this wise method of administration the trustees have doubled, and perhaps trebled, the value of Peabody's munificent benefaction. Giving to no school enough to wholly sustain it; requiring it to be kept open a certain number of months in every school year; to have a certain minimum of enrolled pupils and a certain average attendance during that time; and, above all, paying only when its work has been done; the Peabody Fund has done more good by inducing others to give than by the funds actually distributed. Its working has been altogether harmonious both with State systems and free schools maintained by private subscription. The same system adopted by the nation would have a like effect. If the authorities of a State should refuse to co-operate with the nation, the people of the separate districts of such State might still share its benefits by a little individual exertion. It would only be necessary, in order to carry out this provision, to ascertain the number of illiterates in any specified territory of each race, apportion the fund thereto, and, before giving money to any school within that town or district, to require proof either that it was open to all races, or, in States where public opinion does not allow of mixed schools, that like opportunity was afforded to the other race by other schools in such district. Of course, the details of this would require careful elaboration. No man could to-day draw a bill sufficiently broad and elastic to meet all the needs of such a system. Only care, experience, and the most extended study of the data furnished by full and careful reports, could enable one to accomplish such a task.—Pp. 156, 157.

The question next discussed is,

By Whom would this Plan be Opposed?

It is in the Southern States alone that any opposition to such a plan of national action is to be anticipated. The mistaken ideas of the rank and file of the "Solid South," in regard to the true interests of that section, naturally incline them to oppose any thing looking toward governmental action in this respect, and

many of their leaders would be bitterly hostile to any thing which promised to secure the enlightenment of their constituents. Their power depends in great measure on the ignorance of the masses. It is a mistake to suppose that the leaders of the "Solid South" are the best men of the organization which they control. They are, to a large extent, the buccaneers, the desperadoes, of their own party; the men who were bold enough and unscrupulous enough to assume its leadership in the days of active kuklux-ism, and head the revolutionary organizations which gave it power. They are men who gained prominence by their boldness in directing movements which touched the verge of treason, were unlawful and violent. There were many who sympathized with the purposes of such organizations who did not approve of their methods. Few cared to face danger and ostracism to oppose; but many tacitly disapproved. These are the really "best men" of the "Solid South." As a rule, they are not extravagantly proud of their present leaders. Many of them—and the number is hourly increasing—are becoming more and more convinced that the education of the voter is the only chance for the permanent prosperity of their section. These would undoubtedly give in their adhesion to such a system.—P. 158.

Senator Morgan's article on "Partisanship in the Supreme Court" is an insidious plea in behalf of judicial treason. What he virtually demands is that the nation should place judges on the bench hostile to our national existence. It is a true traitor's plea. It asks this nation to disregard the law of national self-preservation. More than once did the Democratic Supreme Court, during the Rebellion, aim a blow at the Union cause. Notably, when the question of the power of the government to blockade the rebel States came before that court, the Democratic majority would have given victory to secession by a negative decision had not Judge Grier deserted their side and left them alone in their disloyalty. No man who ever took arms, or favored the use of arms, against his country; no man who denies that we are a nation, or claims that a single State has a right to dismember our nationality, ought ever to be seated in that court. And such an exclusion is not partisanship but patriotism.

James Freeman Clarke furnishes an ingenious argument against certain modern theorists, to show that Bacon did not write Shakspeare, but that Shakspeare wrote Bacon. You find the argument so skillfully conducted that, if not convinced yourself, you are likely to believe that the writer is, when he unceremoniously breaks up the play by telling you that he is

only parodying the opposite argument, and showing that the historic fact stands undisturbed that Shakspeare wrote Shakspeare and Bacon wrote Bacon.

We are sorry that the able editor encourages charlatanry by inserting Walt Whitman's semi-idiotic twaddle.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1881. (London.)—1. Agnosticism; by Rev. Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D. 2. Evolution and the Hebrews: A Review of Herbert Spencer's "Hebrews and Phœnicians;" by Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A. 3. The Eloquence of the Pulpit. Translated by Clement De Faye from the French of the late Adolphe Monod. 4. Two Modern Apostles; by Rev. Alex. Macleod Symington, B.A. 5. Christian Philosophy of Patience. 6. The Observance of the Sabbath; by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D. 7. Evolution in Relation to Species; by Rev. J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D. 8. Criteria of the Various Kinds of Truth; by Rev. James M'Cosh, D.D. 9. The Regeneration of Palestine; by Prof. William Wells. 10. The Faith of Islam; by Rev. Edward Sell.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1881. (London.)—1. Congregationalism. 2. Ugo Bassi. 3. The Lord's Supper Historically Considered. 4. The Constitutional Monarchy in Belgium. 5. The Christian Church and War. 6. Materialism, Pessimism, and Pantheism: Final Causes. 7. Dr. Julius Müller. 8. Some National Aspects of Established Churches.

Edinburgh Review, January, 1881. (New York.)—1. Memoirs of Prince Metternich. 2. The Navies of the World. 3. Jacob van Arteveld, the Brewer of Ghent. 4. Endymion 5. Dr. Caird on the Philosophy of Religion. 6. Laveleye's Italy as It Is. 7. Army Reform. 8. Grove's Dictionary of Music. 9. Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 10. England and Ireland.

Indian Evangelical Review, October, 1880. (Calcutta.)—1. Missionary Education; by Rev. C. W. Park. 2. Foreign Missions of the M. E. Church; by Rev. James Mudge, B.A., B.D. 3. The Prospects of Hindu Caste; by Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B. 4. Prayer Books; by Rev. William Harper, M.A. 5. Reply to Mr. Harper on Prayer Books; by Rev. W. R. Blackett, M.A. 6. Intemperance among the Santals; by A. Campbell. 7. Reasons for the Adoption of Ishwar, as the Term or Equivalent for God, in the Santali Language; by A. Campbell.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1881. (New York.)—1. Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor. 2. Californian Society. 3. Lord Bolingbroke in Exile. 4. Protection of British Birds. 5. Lord Beaconsfield's Endymion. 6. Belief and Unbelief. 7. Mr. Justin M'Carthy's History of Our Own Times. 8. Employment of Women in the Public Service. 9. The Ritualists and the Law. 10. The Truth about Ireland.

London Quarterly Review, January. (London.)—1. The Great Pyramid and its Interpreters. 2. National Education: English and Continental. 3. Recent Travels in Japan. 4. The Land Question in England and Ireland Contrasted. 5. Christianity and the Science of Religion. 6. The Doctrine of the Spirit in the Epistle to the Romans. 7. The Protest of the Wurtemberg Clergy against Methodism.

The seventh article is a reply, written with Christian moderation and considerable ability, to a manifesto from certain Lutheran clergymen against our German Methodism. The manifesto aims to make as broad a doctrinal issue as possible against

Methodism, charges that Methodism is as much to be avoided as Rationalism or Romanism, and gives a very earnest warning against the Methodistic infection. It gives a catalogue of the disabilities which all Methodists must incur, in the following terms: "Every member of our Church who transfers to a Methodist preacher any such spiritual function as marriage, the baptism or confirmation of a child, or the burial of his relatives, by that act separates himself from the national Church; and, until he returns, will be deprived of all his ecclesiastical privileges, especially his claim to the burial of the Church, so far as the presence of the clergy and the singing of the choristers at his funeral is concerned. Neither can such a one vote for, or be elected, a member of the parish vestry. The clergy will not permit any child to be confirmed who at the same time is receiving religious instruction from the Methodists."—P. 443. Our reviewer adds: "It is the story with which Methodism in England is thoroughly familiar. The community of German Methodists is in a certain sense excommunicated, and must go on its way under the protection of the law."—P. 443.

Of the nature and consequences of these onslaughts by the state clergy on Methodism the reviewer gives the following excellent paragraph:

> The Theses wind up with very practical suggestions: "16. The best means against Methodism is doctrine in conformity with our confession and care for souls. But to these must be added polemics in preaching and in catechising. It must be regarded as a plain duty, flowing from pastoral compassion for the poor flock, that a definition of what is Methodistic and what is Lutheran is not to be shunned. It must be clearly explained that the question is not about a State Church or a Free Church, about the clergy or the meeting, but about another way of salvation, when in truth there is no other. 17. Where the Methodist is purposing to nestle, visits to those who are threatened are desirable. Plain statements from the pulpit and historical instruction at special services have been proved to be beneficial. In addition, the parishioners must be taught to distinguish Methodist individuals from Methodist societies, and not to sin against Methodists, but rather to learn from them." All that the objects of these cautions could desire is that this "historical information" should be honestly given. There should be perfect truth in these polemics and catechisings. All misstatements and exaggerations are wrong in themselves and should be shunned; moreover, they are sure to be found out sooner or later. The defendant has nothing to fear in any case. No surer means of bringing the character of

Methodism to light could be adopted than this public preaching and private teaching against them. People will be stimulated to inquire who they are who are as bad as infidels and Romanists, and to read their books, and to ask what are those "activities peculiar to Methodism" which, on the other hand, their pastors recommend for "adaptation to our own Church." They will find out that these activities are, after all, very much like the healthy charitable vigor of the Acts of the Apostles; and, indeed, that those which are most "peculiar" are marvelously akin to those Pietistic methods of encouraging godliness to which South Germany owes much of the religion it has. Now this kind of discovery invariably tends to recommend the system which these ministers abhor. If they were well read in the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain in the last century—a branch of learning in which German divines generally show themselves strangely deficient—they would know that these "polemics" were among the most nourishing elements of the growth of Methodism. It has always thriven on this kind of diet. The Lutheran clergy could not more effectually serve the cause they wish to suppress than by declaiming against it in the style of these declamations.—Pp. 442, 443.

The action of the Methodist ministry in reply is thus in conclusion stated:

As we approached the close of this short paper a sheet reached us containing the Reply issued, under the sanction of the English and American Methodist ministers, by Mr. Dieterle, one of their body. It is a temperate and well-argued letter, and clearly traces the chain of circumstances—clerical intolerance and the leadings of Providence—which have justified the attitude assumed by the German Methodists, with the help of England and America. We have reason to believe that this counter plea has been useful in circles independent of the two bodies, and hope that it will tend to awaken more moderate thoughts, and thoughts more worthy of themselves, in the minds of the evangelical clergy themselves. Meanwhile, we think that the attacked should defend themselves by a dignified and silent discharge of their duties. They should not be drawn into polemics. No good can come of them. Meek submission to whatever penalties they have to endure, and a persevering return of good for evil, will do more than multitudes of pamphlets or sermons. But our space is gone; and we must, for a time at least, dismiss this painful controversy. —Pp. 443, 444.

The following paragraph occurs in a book notice of Dr. Macecracken's "Lives of the Leaders of the Church Universal," criticising especially the American part of that book:

It would be easy to take exception to much in the execution of the task that Dr. Macecracken set himself. The very plan of the book,

which associates some eighty authors in the composition of more than a hundred lives, renders it very unequal in style and merit. In some sections the ecclesiastical element predominates, in others the historical, and in others the devotional. Occasionally the matter is paltry, as when a doctor in divinity, after fixing the average weight of Bishop M'Kendree at one hundred and sixty pounds, introduces us to a curious discussion as to the color of his eyes. But, as a rule, the information is *reliable*, and the leading traits in the character are rightly and forcefully portrayed. Some of the lives, indeed, are exquisitely well told, and no one can read the familiar stories of Lawrence, of the girl-martyrs at Lyons and Carthage, or of Monica and her son, without seeing fresh beauty in them, and having his devotion stirred and his admiration reawakened. Except for very frequent Americanisms in phrase and spelling, the rendering is fairly done, though amid the exigencies of translation the rights of grammar are not always respected, and sentences of this kind too often disfigure the pages: "By exceeding diligence the youth was soon so far along in grammatic studies that he could give lessons, and so earn his own living." By a little more care in his editorial work, and a rigid preference of pure forms of English to bastard ones, etc., Dr. Maccracken will be able to rid this first series of its few blemishes; and, if he show similar skill in selection in the next series, he will have accomplished the great work of proving historically the identity of the Christian religion under all names, and in all places and ages, since the ascension—

We interrupt the sentence in the midst of its exuberant flow to say that the entire train of remarks is characterized by that tone of excessive self-respect which renders our English cousin both in Europe and America, so often much more agreeable to himself than to any body else. Our own experience is that as many an ugly looking linguistic "bastard" is often begotten in England as in any other part of the globe; though our reviewer would doubtless reply, at least mentally, that an Englishman's "bastard" is, of course, truly legitimate. For is not an Englishman's talk truly English? Yet an American hears in England phrases from even literary mouths that sound wonderfully "bastard." He may hear an English clergyman maintaining from the pulpit that "a young man ought to *get on*." He wonders when he hears an Englishman say, "This is different to that;" or, "Immediately that this took place that event followed." Even in this writer's high-toned criticism, he wonders whether "reliable" is legitimate or "bastard." And the very phrase in which this exception to "Americanisms" is taken

seems to us very "bastard." "*Except for* very frequent Americanisms," etc., is, we rejoice to say, not American, and we believe is not English. It seems to us that so peremptory a critic should write in legitimate style; or are we to understand that when an Englishman begets a new linguistic kink it is a legitimate, but, if an American, a "bastard?" On this point we have a few words to offer.

The very adjective English as applied to language is not a geographical but an ethnological term. When we profess to speak English we have no reference to a locality. What is called the English language is as much the property of the man born in America or Australia as of the man born in London. To the common English-speaking race we owe the duty to seek to maintain such uniformity as will tend to preserve the language as one. But that can never be accomplished by setting one locality—a locality noted for its recklessness of speech and utterance—as supreme and capricious arbiter. The vast English-speaking republic will not leave it to cockneydom to decide at its own sweet will what is purity of language. A word is none the worse for being an Americanism. A new word must attain legitimacy not from the spot in which it is born, but by its own intrinsic excellence. If it expertly express a shade of thought demanding its designation, if euphonious, if accordant with the laws of analogy so as to define itself instantly to the whole world-wide republic, it needs no certificate from England. If not, it is truly "bastard," though begotten by an English adulterer. So long, indeed, as England's present preeminence in literary rank remains, the decently expressed disapproval of English criticism will command respect. But the great future of the language is with America. And when an Englishman puts on his expansive strut and talks about a "vile Americanism" and "bastard," contempt is a game that two can play at.

As to "spelling," we remember the statement of an eminent German, that the English language, by the simplicity of its syntax, is the best of all languages for universal diffusion, but its universality is prevented by its whimsical orthography. And, we may add, its whimsical orthography is kept in existence by the stiffness of English conservatism, which prefers an absurdity simply because of its being in place and familiar to

the eye. We have no belief that America will be brain-bound through centuries by any such obstructiveism. We believe the time is coming when the ricketty old spelling-machine will be "smashed," and a beautiful reconstruction come into existence.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1881. Second Number. *Essays:* 1. ROEDENBERG, On Marriage with Special Regard to Divorce, and the Remarriage of Divorced Persons. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. TOLLIN, Servetus on Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. 2. NOWACK, Remarks on the Fourteenth Year of Hiskia. 3. HOLLENBERG, Critical Remarks on the Second Martyrdom of St. Ignatius. *Reviews:* 1. KNAAKE, Review of Three Works on Servetus by Tollin. 2. SIEGFRIED, Review of Nowack's Commentary to the Prophet Hosea. *Miscellaneous:* 1. Programme of the Haarlem Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion for the Year 1880. 2. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society at Haarlem for the Year 1881.

According to Dr. Roedenberg, the author of the first article, the introduction of civil marriage, if viewed from the stand-point of the Evangelical Church, is in general of a very questionable advantage, but in one respect it has had a very favorable influence upon the shaping of the relation of the Church to the State, (of course, he means the Evangelical Church of Germany.) "It has freed," he says, "the Church from the obstruction which had hitherto prevented the scriptural management of the laws relating to the Christian marriage. This liberation imposes upon the Evangelical Church the duty of examining again and again the principles by which she judges the admissibility and the consequences of divorce by the words of Holy Writ. It must be admitted that the repeated attempts which the Church has made at different times to harmonize her action with the demands of Holy Writ have, in spite of all the labor expended upon them, remained at length without lasting result. This consideration should lead to a new investigation whether or not the principles by which the Church has been guided suffer from a mistake which hitherto has not been sufficiently recognized and appreciated. I find this mistake in the doctrine of malicious abandonment. I am of opinion that this doctrine is irreconcilably opposed to the teachings of the Lord and the apostles, and that, consistently developed, it must lead to the principle of the absolute solubility of marriage. As long as malicious abandonment is recognized as a scriptural ground for divorce so long will the force of consistency induce

people to recognize also numerous other grounds for divorce as justified, and all counter-efforts will finally be in vain."

Dr. Roedenberg says that his article is intended to prove the above assertions to be correct. This truth, however, appears to him to be impossible without examining more closely, under the guidance of Holy Writ, the nature and essence of marriage, and without, in particular, contemplating marriage also with regard to its natural basis and its effects, (the *unitas carnis*,) from which the Lord himself, in opposition to the Pharisees, derives the indissolubility of marriage. In order to appreciate this point in its full significance it may be of service to remember how from the time of the Middle Ages the scriptural views of the bodily unity of married persons controlled the consciences of the people, how they shaped the formation of the laws on marital affairs, especially on the judicial consequences of the marriage, as the laws of inheritance and property. The author announces that he will treat of these points more fully than is generally the case, in order to show their consistency and validity. In the opinion of Dr. Roedenberg the Church Fathers were right who represented a divorce as becoming perfect only by the remarriage of the divorced persons. "The Lord does not condemn a mere separation as much as the remarriage of the divorced, and the apostle also judges leniently on mere separation. But the remarriage of divorced persons is repeatedly and emphatically designated by the Lord as adultery. He exempts from this judgment only the remarriage of those who were separated on account of the *πορνεία* of the other part. It is not difficult to determine the position of the Church with regard to the divorced, as long as they remain single; but the difficulty begins as soon as the divorced contract a new marriage, and demand from the Church to recognize them as man and wife, to admit them to the Lord's Supper, and to solemnize their marriage." The questions connected with these points cannot be thoroughly answered without previously elucidating what is effected in regard to the conclusion of a perfect marriage by the civil marriage act, what by the beginning of this marital communion and the consummation of the marriage, and what remains to be consummated by the religious solemnization of the marriage. This is an outline of the treatise which the author intends to

write on the subject. It is begun in the present number of the *Studien*, and will be concluded in the next.

The readers of the German Theological Quarterlies during the last twenty years cannot but have noticed the great number of books, pamphlets, and articles treating of Michael Servetus, the learned Spaniard of the sixteenth century who was burned by order of Calvin for having denied the doctrine of the Trinity. What is still more remarkable, all these numerous publications have been written by one man, H. Tollin, pastor at Magdeburg. In the present number of the *Studien* we have from his pen one new article, entitled, "Servetus on Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper," and a review of three different books published by him since 1875, and entitled, "Dr. M. Luther and Dr. M. Servetus, Philip Melanchthon and M. Servetus, and Michael Servetus and Martin Butzer." For twenty years Mr. Tollin has been ransacking the libraries of Germany, Switzerland, France and Northern Italy, to find new information of Michael Servetus, whom he regards as one of the literary heroes of mankind, and to whom he wishes to procure that prominent place which, in his opinion, is due, but has hitherto been denied to him. In the opinion of his reviewer, Mr. Tollin is no historian, he is carried away by his enthusiasm for his hero, and led astray into the most exaggerated assertions. He is, of course, deeply interested in his subject, writes in a beautiful style, and frequently presents views which surprise by their novelty. But, says the reviewer, many of his statements have been found to be untrustworthy, and his many new books and articles must, therefore, be received at least with a great reserve.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld. 1881. First Number. 1. HILGENFELD, Cerdon and Marcion. 2. W. GRIMM, On a Few Questions concerning the Book Tobias. 2. FRITSCHE, The Letter of Ratramnus on the Kynokephaloi, (Dog's Heads.) 4. TOLLIN, The Generation of Jesus in Servetus' "Restitutio Christianismi." 5. GRUNWALD, Contributions to the History of the Masora.

Second Number. 1. HILGENFELD, The Muratorianum and the Investigations by A. Harnack and Franz Overbeck. 2. JULIUS FURST, Contributions to the Critical Investigations on the Books of Samuel. 3. SEUFERT, Relationship between the First Epistle of Peter and the Epistle to the Ephesians. 4. ROESSLER, Remarks on the Itala. 5. EGLI, Remarks on the Pentateuch, (*a*) On Noah's Ravens, (*b*) On Exodus, i, 16. 6. PREISS, The Origin of the Jehovah Worship. 7. HILGENFELD, The Epistle of the Valentinian Ptolemy to Flora.

"Of all the heretics of the ancient Church," says Dr. Hilgenfeld, "none has exerted so powerful and so lasting an influence

upon his time as Marcion of Pontus, the countryman of the cynic philosopher, Diogenes of Sinope. No other heretic of the ancient Church is, moreover, of so great importance for the critical investigations on the history of the New Testament as Marcion, who opposed his own canon of the Holy Scriptures to the scriptural canon of the Orthodox Church. Even the old Church workers represented him as the destructive critic of the Gospels and Epistles of Paul, (*Tertullianus adv. Marcionem*, iv, 3,) while, on the other hand, the modern critical school lays stress on Marcion's assertions of a direct opposition between Paul and the primitive apostles, regarding it an ancient testimony for the true history of primitive Christianity. This modern school has even shown to Marcion the honor of finding polemical references to him in several writings of the New Testament, particularly in the pastoral letters of Paul. It is, therefore, a question of the highest importance at what time and in what manner Marcion made his appearance as a heretic." According to the ancient Church Fathers, Marcion, notwithstanding his marked originality, was closely connected with the heretical Gnosis. It is in particular stated by Epiphanius (see M'Clintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia," art., Marcion) that Marcion joined at Rome the Syrian Cerdon, who preached in that city the Gnostic doctrines, and that he confessed his intention of proclaiming an abiding schism in the Christian Church. This connection between Marcion and the Gnostics has recently been denied by Adolf Harnack, who has been engaged for some time in preparing a special work on Marcion, the first installment of which was published in 1876 in the "*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*," (p. 80–120,) in an article entitled, "*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Marcionitischen Kirche*." In the first theological essay published by him, (*Zur Quellenkritik des Gnosticismus*, 1873,) Harnack expresses the opinion that "the originality of this wonderful man, Marcion, is so extraordinary that it cannot be sufficiently emphasized. Entirely different from the Gnostics who, following their abstruse and theoretical speculations, left the Christian masses far behind them and conceded to them as psychists a certain relative right, he feels himself called upon to work among these masses, and to purify and transform the faith which animated them. Because he was fully convinced that the forms in

which the Catholic Christianity of his times had become crystallized were not only not entitled to any recognition, but that they were absolutely unchristian, yea, antichristian, he believed himself to have received the mission to go immediately back, in a reformatory manner, to the primitive history of Christianity, and to serve a Church—which in his opinion was relapsing into Judaism—as the only trustworthy guide in the return to the right path. In this sense he believes in his own divine mission. As formerly Paul was commissioned by God to bring to light unadulterated the true preaching of Christ, thus a hundred years later he was divinely commissioned to warn once more, in the same manner, the erring Church." Hilgenfeld considers this argumentation of Dr. Harnack as being in the main correct, but he submits that if Marcion was not like the other Gnostics, a mere man of the school, but above all a man of deeds and of life—if he did not care so much for a large number of followers as for a reformation of the entire Church—then it does not interfere with his originality if he passed through the school of a Gnostic like Cerdon, but obtained his peculiar significance as an ecclesiastical agitator and organizer. Hilgenfeld then goes on to examine all the passages in the early Church writers which refer to or shed light upon the relation between Cerdon and Marcion. In summing up the result of his minute investigations he finds that not a single one of the Church writers whose passages he has examined gives us the right to represent Marcion as a heretical autodidact, or even as one of the principal heretics blooming at a time when Valentinus and Bauloder were only blossoming. On the contrary, he arrives at the opinion that Marcion of Pontus did, for a considerable length of time, a flourishing business as a ship-owner; that about 140 or soon after, at a time when he was already a Christian, or at all events acquainted with Polycarpus of Smyrna, he joined the Christian congregation at Rome; that in Rome he entered into a closer connection with Cerdon, the Syrian, and entirely fell out with the Orthodox Church. Though he may have been a pupil and follower of the theoretical heretic, Cerdon, he practically did a great deal himself by widening the heresy into an open schism. His lasting work consisted in the rupture between a Christianity freed from the law on the one hand, and all ten

dencies toward Judaism on the other, and in the foundation of a heretical universal Church which he endeavored to spread throughout the world, and even supplied with its own Scripture. His work continued to exist long after the merely theoretical gnosis had ceased. The recent literature on the subject, as is usual in the articles of Professor Hilgenfield, is copiously quoted.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) December, 1880.—1. Bersier, The Unchangeable Value of the Teachings of Jesus Christ. 2. E. W., A New Life of Saint Paul. 3. Loriot, A Great Man and a Grand Nature.

January, 1881.—1. Mouron, The Physiology of the Mind. 2. Puaux, The French Mission in South Africa among the Bassutos. 3. E. W., Lord Beaconsfield's New Novel.

February, 1881.—1. Sabatier, The Future of Theology. 2. Puaux, The French Mission in South Africa among the Bassutos. (Second Article.) 3. Schaeffer, The Lyric Poets of Austria. 4. E. W., George Eliot.

The editors of the *Revue*, in a brief preface to the December number, announce that a few changes will be made in the editorial management of next year's volume. E. de Pressensé will write the monthly review of important events alone, instead of alternating with A. Sabatier. The latter will write once every three months a *bulletin litteraire*. Twice a year M. Philippe Bridel will give a *bulletin philosophique*. The *Chronique Allemande* by Professor Lichtenberger, and the *Chronique Anglaise* will be continued as in the volume for 1880.

All those who take an interest in the progress of Protestant missions in pagan countries are acquainted with the French Protestant mission among the Bassutos, in South Africa. Its success has long been the glory of Protestant France, for, small as the number of Protestants is in France, especially since Alsace and Lorraine have been united with Germany, they have made, by their Bassuto mission, a very notable contribution to the prosperous missions of the Protestant world. The war which the English government of the Cape Colonies wantonly provoked, in 1880, by ordering the peaceable Bassutos to lay down their arms, and which at the beginning of 1881 had not yet been ended, has produced a most painful impression upon Protestant Churches in general, and particularly upon the

Protestant Churches of France. It is, therefore, very opportune that the *Revue* gives us, from the pen of an old, tried contributor, the history of the favorite pagan mission of Protestant France. The first missionaries were sent out in 1829. The Society of Evangelical Missions, which took this field in hand, had been formed only a few years ago. On arriving at the Cape Colony the missionaries met with a warm reception on the part of the descendants of the French Huguenots who had lived there since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They had lost, under the rule of the Dutch, the knowledge of their native tongue, and only one old man was met with who still spoke French, but they still were greatly attached to France. Soon after King Moshesh of the Bassutos, who was greatly harassed by the neighboring tribes of the Koranas and the Griquas, heard of them, and he sent some oxen to a Hottentot hunter, who was acquainted with the missionaries, with the request to send him in return a "man of prayer." One of the three missionaries who accepted the king's invitation was M. Casalis, whose name is now indissolubly connected with the beginning of the civilization and Christianization of the Bassutos. After having labored among them for twenty-three years he published the work, *Les Bassoutos ou Vingt Trois années de séjour et d'observations au sud de l'Afrique*, (second edition, Paris: 1860,) which will always remain the chief source of information for the history of this interesting mission, and a standard work of the missionary literature of Protestantism. King Moshesh remained the devoted friend of the missionaries until his death, and never wavered in his high appreciation of the services which the missionaries rendered to his people by instructing and civilizing them; he died, however, without becoming a Christian himself. The people gradually passed over from a nomad life to fixed settlements, and the Church, which, under the management of missionaries belonging to the Reformed Church of France, naturally assumed the Presbyterian form of government, gradually and steadily grew. In 1841 the first printing-office was established, where a newspaper and several works in the native tongue have been published. Of the New Testament no less than 26,000 copies have been printed and sold. A normal school has been established at Morija, and is likewise in a flourishing condition. In

1872 the synodal organization of the native Church was completed, and has since that time been in uninterrupted operation. Under the influence of the missionaries, agriculture and commerce have been wonderfully developed. They have exported more than one hundred thousand sacks of wheat, of two hundred pounds each, and more than two hundred thousand balls of wool, and have imported manufactured articles from Europe of an aggregate value of more than 3,750,000 francs. The majority of the Bassutos are still pagan, but the Christian minority, excelling by education, industry, and wealth, already has a controlling influence. In 1880 the French Protestant mission in the lands of the Bassutos numbered sixteen missionaries, two physicians, one assistant missionary, and one director of an industrial school. There were fourteen stations or central Churches, with sixty-nine annexes, under the care of one hundred and twenty-six native helpers. The contributions of the Bassutos for the support of missions amounted in 1879 to the sum of 37,700 francs. More recently a resolution was passed at one of the synods of the Bassuto Churches to send out a missionary for the conversion of the river tribes of the Zambesi. The sum of 15,000 francs was at once subscribed for this object, and numerous catechists declared their readiness to join in the mission. When M. Coillard, who was put at the head of the mission, arrived in August, 1878, at Leshoma, on the Zambesi, he was surprised to find that all the tribes of the country, the Makhalakas, the Batokas, the Masobiéas, the Matotekas, the Mashapatanés, fully understood the Séssuto, or the language of the Bassutos.* A major in the English army in South Africa, Mr. Malan, who is known for his intimate acquaintance with the natives of South Africa, has written an interesting work on the beginning and importance of this new mission, which has been translated into French, *La Mission française du sud de l'Afrique, impressions d'un ancien soldat, par C. H. Malan, traduit par madame G. Mallet*, (1878.) The entire territory inhabited by the Bassutos covers an area of about 12,700 square miles, with a population estimated at about 100,000. By the treaty of peace which they had to

*The name of the country inhabited by the Bassutos is Lessouto; the name of the language, Séssuto; one inhabitant is called Mossouto; and the plural of this word is Bassutos.

make with the Boers of the Orange Free State, on March 26, 1866, after a protracted war, they had to cede a portion of their territory to that Republic; the remainder, with about 60,000 inhabitants, was, on March 12, 1868, annexed to Natal.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

[One of the last numbers of the new edition of Professor Herzog's "*Real Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*," contains an article on Italy, by K. Rönneke, which, after treating of the present condition of the Roman Catholic Church, gives a full statement of the different Protestant denominations of that country in 1880. As the progress of Protestantism in Italy has a special interest for every Protestant, we translate this account of the present condition of Italian Protestantism for our readers.]

The Evangelical Church in Italy is at present represented by the well-known Waldensian Church and the less known Free Italian Church, to which must be added a few smaller ecclesiastical denominations which owe their origin to Foreign Missions.

I. The Waldensians.—This Church, after being heavily oppressed for many centuries and often subjected to bloody persecutions, received in the former kingdom of Sardinia freedom of worship by a decree of February 17, 1848. At that time the Church numbered in the so-called Waldensian valleys the following fifteen congregations: Angrogna, Bobbio—Pellice, Masello, Perrero, Pomaretto, Praly, Pramollo, Prarostino, Rodoretto, Rora, S. Germano, S. Giovanni, Torre Pellice, Villa Pellice, and Villa Secca. Besides, it had a congregation in Turin. These old congregations of the Waldensians must be distinguished from the new congregations which, by means of an active evangelization, have been formed in all parts of the kingdom of Italy. The former numbered in 1879, 11,958 members, 17 active and 6 superannuated pastors, with 4,727 pupils in the day schools, (elementary schools, college, and seminary,) and 2,859 pupils of Sunday-schools. The college of Torre Pellice has 7 professors and 75 scholars, the seminary of the same place, 3 teachers, with 31 pupils, the Female High School at the same place, 9 teachers and 71 pupils; the preparatory college at Pomaretto has 2 professors and 32 pupils. Besides, there are 3 hospitals at Torre Pellice, Pomaretto and Turin, and 1 orphanage for girls at Torre Pellice. In 1855 a theological school was founded at Torre Pellice for the education of clergymen who formerly had been educated abroad, especially at Geneva and Lausanne. This school was removed in 1862 to Florence, and had in 1879 3 professors and 18 students. At the head of the entire Church

there is a Board of Administration and Superintendence, called The Table, consisting of 5 persons, and elected by the Synod of the Church, which annually meets in the first week of September. The Synod elects likewise a Committee of Evangelization, which consists of 6 members, and has control of the work of evangelization, and superintends all the new congregations, stations, schools, etc. According to the official report of 1879 the number of the new congregations was 39, of stations, 32. We mention of them the following: Ancona, Aosta, Brescia, Caltanisetta, Castiglione, Catania, Coazze, Como, S. Fedele, Courmayeur, Favale, Florence, (2 congregations,) Genoa, Guastalla, Ivrea, Leghorn, Lucca, Messina, Milan, Modica, Naples, Pinerolo, Pietra-Marazzi, Palermo, Pisa, Reggio, (Calabria,) Rio Marina and Porto Ferraio, (on the island of Elba,) Riesi, Rome, San Bartolomeo in Galdo, Sanpierdarena, Syracuse, Susa, Trabia, Trapani, Turin, Vallecrosia, Verona, and Venice. Elementary schools are found in Ariccia, Catania, Florence, Genoa, Guidizzolo, Leghorn, Lucca, Naples, Palermo, Pietra-Marazzi, Pinerolo, Pisa, Poggio-Mirteto, Rio Marina, Nice, Rome, Sanpierdarena, Monzambano, Trabia, Transella, Turin, Venice, Verona, Viareng. There are employed for these congregations and schools 34 ordained ministers, 23 evangelists, 44 teachers, 7 colporteurs. The congregations and stations number 2,813 communicants, about 400 catechumens, 1,684 pupils in the elementary schools, and 1,636 children in the Sunday-schools.

II. The Free Italian Church.—This Church has been in existence since 1870, in which year 23 congregations which had been formed independently of the evangelization carried on by the Waldenses, united themselves at Milan into a religious denomination under the above name. They have their own creed and constitution, which were adopted by the second and third General Assemblies at Milan and Florence. At the head is a Committee of Evangelization, consisting of 5 ordinary and 4 honorary members. The Church has 36 congregations, and 35 stations of evangelization, of which we mention the following: Albano, Bari, Bassignana, Belluno, Bergamo, Bologna, Brescia, Mottola, Fara-Novarese, Florence, Leghorn, Livorno, (Piedmont,) Milan, Naples, Pietrasanta, Ghezzano, Rocca Imperiale, Rome, S. Giovanni Pellice, Savona, Treviglio, Treviso, Turin, Udine. Elementary schools have been established in Florence, Leghorn, Naples, Pisa, Cisanello, Rome. The congregations and schools are under the care of 15 ordained ministers, 15 evangelists, 3 colporteurs, 21 male and female teachers. The rolls of the congregations contain the names of 1,800 communicants, 265 catechumens, 724 children in Sunday-schools, and 1,300 in the elementary schools. Since 1876 the Free Italian Church has conducted at Rome a "Theological School" with 4 professors and 10 students. Connected with it is a preparatory school with 3 teachers and 7 scholars.

III. The Free Christian Church.—This Church consists of the remnant of those independent small congregations which were unwilling to join the Free Italian Church. The heads of this Church refuse on principle to give any information on the number of their members

and laborers. We must, therefore, content ourselves with stating that among the larger congregations of this Church are those of Alessandria, Bologna, Florence, Genoa, Mantua, Milan, Rome, and Turin. Besides these there may be about 50 other places where this denomination has a larger or smaller number of brethren. The Church rejects the institution of an ordained ministry as contrary to the Gospel.

IV. The Wesleyan Church.—Wesleyan missionaries from England have labored in Italy since 1861. Their missions are divided into a northern and southern district. The northern district embraces 28 congregations and stations, 14 ordained ministers, 2 evangelists, 11 male and female teachers, 2 colporteurs, 756 communicants, 58 catechumens, 414 scholars in elementary schools, 393 scholars in Sunday-schools. The southern district has 15 congregations and stations, 8 ordained clergymen, 5 evangelists, 10 male and female teachers, 573 communicants, 196 catechumens, 383 scholars in the elementary, and 228 scholars in Sunday-schools. Among the places where this Church has congregations and stations are Rome, Bologna, Velletri, Spezia, Padua, Vicenza, (Bassano,) Reggio, (Emilia,) Parma, Mazzano Inferiore, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Intra, Rimini, Aquila, Noto, Caserta, Catania, Catanzaro, Cosenza, Messina, Naples, Palermo, Salerno. It has day-schools in Bologna, Marinasco, Mazzano Inferiore, Spezia, Caserta, Catania, Naples, and evening schools in Mezzano Inferiore, Spezia, Rome, Velletri.

V. The Methodist Episcopal Church has been at work since 1873. It has congregations and stations in Arezzo, Bologna, Faenza, Forli, Florence, Foligno, Milan, Modena, Naples, Narni, Perugia, Rome, Terni, Venice. The number of ordained ministers is 8, of evangelists, 9, of colporteurs, 1, of communicants, 437, of catechumens, 215, of children in Sunday-schools, 160, of Bible women, 5.

VI. Baptists.*—1. The American Baptists have been evangelizing since 1870 in Bari, Barletta, Cagliari, Milan, Modena, Naples, Rome, Torre Pellice, Venice. They have 9 ministers, 175 baptized members, 65 catechumens, 2 elementary schools, and 3 Sunday-schools. The English Baptists have been at work since 1871 in Civitavecchia, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Rome, Turin, Trapani. They employ 11 ministers and evangelists in these places and in the neighborhood. The largest congregation in Rome numbers 124 members, 16 catechumens, and 80 children in Sunday-schools.

The Protestant Italian press is at present represented by the following papers: 1. "*Rivista Cristiana*," a literary monthly; 2. "*Famiglia Cristiana*," a weekly family paper with illustrations; 3. "*Amico di Casa*," a popular almanac with a very large circulation; 4. "*Amico dei Fanciulli*," an illustrated monthly for children; 5. "*Le Temoin*," a French religious journal for the Waldensian valleys; 6. "*Il Cristiano Evangelico*."

* The "Baptist Hand-Book for 1881" (London, 1881) gives the number of members of Baptist Churches as about 400. It enumerates 28 places where Baptists meet for divine worship.

a religious journal for the Waldensian missionary congregations; 7. "*L'Educatore Evangelico*," a Waldensian school journal; 8. "*Il Piccolo Messagiere*," the Church paper of the Free Italian Church; 9. "*La Veletta Cristiana*," the Church paper of the Free Christian Church; 10. "*La Civilta Evangelica*," the Church journal of the Wesleyans; 11. "*La Fiaccola*," the Church journal of the American Methodists; 12. "*Il Seminatore*," a literary monthly of the American Baptists. Noteworthy are also the seamen's missions, which are carried on in the ports of Genoa and Naples in floating chapels, as well as the evangelical military congregation in Rome.

Among the charitable institutions controlled by Protestants we mention: 1. The Orphanage and House of Refuge for Boys, in Florence, founded by Dr. Comandi, with 80 boys; 2. The Ferretti Orphanage for Girls, in Florence, with 32 girls; 3. The Orphanage in Vallecrosia for Boys and Girls, founded by Mrs. Boyce, containing 50 orphans; 4. The Gould Female Institution at Rome, for the education of both boys and girls; 5. The Van Meter Schools at Rome; 6. The Labor School for Women at Rome.

The English Italian Tract Society keeps an evangelical printing and publishing office (*Tipografia Claudina*) at Florence. The British and Foreign Bible Society has offices and depositories in Ancona, Florence, Genoa, Leghorn, Milan, Naples, and Rome. In the same cities there are also Protestant book-stores. An Italian Bible Society has been in existence since 1873. Young Men's Christian Associations have been organized in Florence, Messina, Naples, Padua, Rome, Turin, and Venice. There are missions for the Jews in Rome, Leghorn, and Verona.

There are German Protestant congregations in Bergamo, Florence, Genoa, Leghorn, Milan, Messina, Naples, Rome, and Venice, and in connection with them hospitals in Florence, Milan, Genoa, Naples, Rome; elementary schools in Genoa, Messina, Rome, Venice; high schools for boys in Florence, Leghorn, Naples; female high schools in Florence, (under the control of the Kaiserswerth deaconesses, with a boarding school,) and Naples.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The new edition of the great theological cyclopædia of Protestant Germany, by Professor Herzog and Professor Plitt, ("*Real Encyclopädie for Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*." New York: B. Westermann & Co.; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe,) has now reached the end of the letter K. Of the fifteen volumes which the complete work is to contain seven have now been completed. In a prefatory remark to the seventh volume it is announced that one of the editors, Professor J. L. Plitt, of Heidelberg, had died on Sept. 10, 1880. His place has been filled by the appointment of Professor Albert Hauck, who, as editor of several theological periodic-

als, and by other literary labors, had made himself favorably known as an able theologian. The new volumes which have been published since our last notice of the work, and which contain the articles from the beginning of the letter E to the end of the letter K, fully support the high reputation which this work has enjoyed throughout the Protestant world since the publication of the first number of the first edition. We need not tell the regular readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review of the wonderful productivity which continues and steadily increases in the department of Protestant theological literature. Every successive number of the Review calls attention to works which shed new light on important points of theological and religious science. The number of works which are of a strictly religious character now amounts to many thousands every year. Germany alone publishes several thousands every year, and it is especially in Germany where the young theologians who wish to obtain an academical degree or a theological professorship are expected and encouraged to write special treatises on points that need further elucidation. Thus it may be said that every important subject treated of in a theological Cyclopædia needs revisions and additions after a few years. A comparison of the volumes of the new edition of Herzog's "Cyclopædia" with the corresponding volumes of the first edition, which were published some twenty years ago, shows, indeed, that in almost every article of importance new information derived from recent literature has been added. The first three volumes of M'Clintock & Strong's "Cyclopædia" were published in the years 1867, 1870, and 1872, and even since then, as the most cursory perusal of the large articles in the German work will show, an extraordinary amount of new matter in the religious sciences has been made available. No one can examine any volume of this grand work without becoming convinced that in the whole range of Cyclopædias, general and special, it has hardly any superior and but few equals. What makes this Cyclopædia especially valuable as a work of reference is the fact that almost every article has been prepared by a theologian of acknowledged reputation, who shows himself fully conversant with the entire literature on the subject, and treats of it in an exhaustive manner. Among the most thorough articles on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity we have noticed those on Gott and Kirche, both by Dr. Julius Köstlin, and that on Jesus, by Zöckler. The biographical articles on the Popes have all been written by Professor Zopffel, and those of the last four volumes embrace among others those on Innocent III., Gregory VII., and Honorius. The last-named article gives an interesting reference to the literature called forth by the dogmatization of Papal Infallibility, which, it would seem, the condemnation of Pope Honorius as a heretic, by a council recognized as ecumenical, should have sufficed to make forever impossible. Other interesting biographical articles are those on Franz von Assisi; Julian the Apostate, by A. Harnack; Hus, by Gotthard Lechler; Johannes Presbyter, by Germann; Jansenius, by Dr. Herzog; Josephus Flavius, by E. Schürer; Johannes von Damascus, by Dr. Dorner. One of the most interesting

archæological articles is that on the Katacomben, by H. Merz. An excellent article on Hebrew Poetry has been furnished by Professor E. Reuss, of Strassburg; and one of equal excellency on the Hebrew Language, by Professor Bertheau, of Göttingen. Some of the main branches of theology, as well as several auxiliary sciences, are represented in these volumes: as Ethics, by Dr. Christlieb; Homiletics, Hermeneutics, Church History, by Hauck, the new associate editor; Church Law, by Wasserschleben; Church Music, by E. Krüger; Catechetics, by Zezschwitz. Joshua, Judges, Jonah, and other articles on the Old Testament, have been written by Professor Volck, of Dorpat; the History of Israel before Christ, by Oehler; and the History of the Jews since the beginning of the Christian Era, by Pressel; St. John the Apostle, by Dr. Ebrard; Irenæus, by Zahn; Justinus the Martyr, by Professor Engelhard. Very learned articles on the Canons of the Old and the New Testament have been contributed by H. L. Strack and Woldemar Schmidt; on the Gnosis and Gnostics, by Jacobi; on the Jesuits, by Steitz; on Irvingism, by Köstlin; on the Inquisition, by Benrath. The articles on the ecclesiastical statistics of the several countries give generally full information; they embrace articles on England and Ireland, by Schöll; France, by Pfender; Holland, by Dr. Gerth Van Wyck; Italy, by K. Rönneke. The article on the Greek Church has been written by Dr. Gass, well known as one of the best writers on the subject. Nearly all the authors mentioned above are favorably known in the theological world as writers on the subjects which have been assigned to them by the editors of the Cyclopædia, and most of them have been referred to in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review. As a specimen of the articles on the religious condition of foreign countries we give, on another page of our present number, a translation of part of the article on Italy.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Higher Criticism and the Bible. A Manual for Students. By William B. Boyce, Wesleyan Minister. 12mo., pp. 473. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1881.

The object of this admirable "Manual" is to furnish a bird's-eye view of the great battle now going on between the self-styled "higher criticism" and the sacred canon. It brings its survey down to the present moment, with such rehearsals of the antecedent facts as are necessary for a complete understanding of "the situation." Those readers and thinkers whose minds have been disturbed by the distant cannonade sending its rumble from beyond ocean, will here find a brief, but clear and comprehensive,

summary of the whole matter. Mr. Boyce seems to be a fine master of the literature of the subject, German and English; for it is to these two nations that the great debate is mainly committed. His survey is symmetrically planned, his diction clear and lively, his judgment acute, and his soundness in the faith unquestionable. The student who is alive to this, one of the most momentous discussions of our century, will find in addition to the work of Bishop Hurst on Rationalism, and Professor Harman's volume on the Canon, a most valuable supplement in this little "Manual," by the "Wesleyan Minister," Mr. Boyce.

It was in 1753 that Astruc, a French physician, suggested the theory that the book of Genesis was composed of two sets of documents, distinguished the one by the use of the term Elohim for the divine name, and the other by the word Jehovah. His suggestion remained lifeless until 1780, when it was indorsed by Eichhorn, under whose patronage it really introduced what was termed by its advocates "a new era in the criticism of the Pentateuch." On Astruc's little hobby the "higher criticism" has ridden, not only into existence, but into a battle of a century, winning in its own view conquest after conquest; and it is now boasting of final victory in the most complete destruction of all authentic biblical literature before the building of the second temple. There is nothing in intellectual history so sweeping as this result save, perhaps, Father Hardouin's annihilation of the entire literatures of the classic ages, or Dugald Stewart's resolution of Sanscrit language and literature into a manufactured system of so-called "Kitchen Latin," invented by the monks of the Middle Ages.

Astruc's suggestion is harmless so far as it implies that Moses used patriarchal documents in the construction of his history previous to his own time. The strong resemblance to the Mosaic of the Assyrian cosmogony, as exhumed by George Smith, confirms this view. The obvious probability is that Abraham came from Assyria bringing the patriarchal documents with him. Nor is there any reason to deny that the two divine names, Elohim and Jehovah, have in themselves a difference of import justifying a preference of one over the other in a given connection. The two designations of our Saviour, Jesus and Christ, have different meanings, suggesting which should be used for a given purpose, and yet either is often used without much regard to the distinction. But assuming Astruc's germinal idea, the rationalistic

critics have run into a strain of adventurous theories whose very extravagance is their own refutation. They render a large part of the text a patchwork contributed not by two different writers, a Jehovist and an Elohist, but by a half dozen or more gentlemen, sitting in social symposium, and manufacturing a verse by piecemeal scraps. There are, created by the critics' pure fancy, a Jehovist, an Elohist, a Jehovist Junior, an Elohist Junior, a Redactor, a Deuteronomist, and a committee of Levitical Legislators, all men in buckram, called into existence like "spirits from the vasty deep," and set to the work by the creative genius of the "Higher Criticism." There are two serious difficulties in bringing all this scheme within the world of common sense. The first is that no such patchwork ever occurred in human history; the second is that if it ever took place in the case of our present text, it is out of the question to suppose that the different parts could be so distinguished and assigned with any certainty to their respective contributors.

It is undoubtedly true that coming down through the long centuries the text of the Old Testament has been subjected to modifications and interpolations, most of which cannot, at the present time, be distinguished or corrected. Mr. Boyce's concessions on this point are ample and yet judicious. "Our present text is an unsafe guide on points in which verbal accuracy and minute niceties are essential. We have reason to infer that the phraseology of the earlier books has been modified from time to time, to some extent, by the removal of obsolete words and expressions, their place being supplied by others of modern date and usage. And although our present text is a recension based upon a thorough revision of the text by Ezra after the captivity, yet it is obvious from the differences in the phraseology, and in occasional omissions and additions found in the Septuagint version, that of this recension there must have been various exemplars, from one or more of which, varying considerably from our text, the Greek translation was made. It is not necessary, however, to suppose with the learned Quarry that there has been a complete modernization of the old Hebrew. That such mere verbal alterations in the letter do not affect the substantial accuracy of the Sacred Writings is obvious, as they do not touch the facts or the teachings therein contained."—Pp. 89, 90. These concessions do not affect the great whole by which the Old and New Testaments are the first and second volumes of God's great Revelation. The great structures of Type and Prophecy still stand. And they

stand authenticated by the ratification of our divine Teacher, who, upon this subject, if not an impostor, is a conclusive authority. Mr. Boyce gives the following summary of His testimony:

1. While some learned scholars have decided that the Patriarchs are mythical personages, our Lord refers to them as real persons. See Matt. iii, 9; viii, 11; xxii, 32; Luke xiii, 28; John viii, 37, 56–58. 2. He represents Abraham as having had a glimpse of *His* office and work. Compare John viii, 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad," with the following verse (57) and with Gen. xxii, 8, 13, 14, and Heb. xi, 17–19. 3. While Bishop Colenso intimates that the name of Moses may be "regarded as merely that of the imaginary leader of the people out of Egypt, a person quite as shadowy and unhistorical as Æneas in the history of Rome, and our own King Arthur," our Lord, "THE GREAT TEACHER," expressly refers to him as a real living actor and lawgiver at the period of the Exodus, and of the residence of Israel in the wilderness. Look at the following passages: "He saith unto them, Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so." Matt. xix, 8; Mark x, 3. "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat." Matt. xxiii, 2. "And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Luke xvi, 31. "Now that the dead are raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; for he is not a God of the dead but of the living; for all live unto him." Luke xx, 37, 38. "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up." John iii, 14. "There is one that accuseth you, even Moses in whom ye trust; for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me, (referring to Deut. xviii, 15;) but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" John v, 45–47. "Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven." John vi, 32. "Did not Moses give you the law?" John vii, 19. "Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision." John vii, 22. 4. Our Lord pays special deference to the writings of Moses, that is, the Pentateuch, making it the foundation of his discourse to the disciples on the road to Emmaus: "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself," and again to the assembled disciples, when he told them that "all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." Luke xxiv, 27, 44. 5. Our Lord refers in Matt. xxii, 37–40, to Deut. vi, 5, as containing the *first* and great commandment, and to Lev. xix, 18, as containing the *second*. "Then one of them which was a lawyer asked him a question, tempting him, and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." But our Lord's highest testimony to the book of Deuteronomy is found in the fact, that in his great temptation after his baptism (as recorded in Matthew, chap. iv) he repels the tempter by three quotations from that book, the quotations are in Deut. viii. 3, and vi, 16, and 13. Well may we apply to the Sadducees of the nineteenth century the words addressed by our Lord to the Sadducees of his day: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God." Matt. xxiii, 29.—Pp. 175–177.

The latest and most destructive theory is that of Graf, sustained by Wellhausen, according to which the Old Testament is mainly the work of Ezra and his compeers after the captivity. The leading characters of old Hebrew history are myths. The

stories of Abraham, the patriarchs, the prophets Elijah and Elisha, are legends. Of course so sweeping a monstrosity, such a massacre of the history of this wonderful people of the Messiah, does not stand unchallenged. There are Christian scholars amply competent to meet the onslaught. Our great Old Testament Commentaries, Lange and The Speaker's, perform well their part. Nor are we fearful of any surrender or in haste to make any concessions to the spirit of a bold and licentious "criticism" on the sacred canon. We purpose to "hold the fort."

The underlying secret of all this movement is the dogma of antisupernaturalism. With all the ardent faith of a devotee the critic first assumes as axiom the fatality of physics and the absolute impossibility of a supernatural event. There cannot be a miracle, either of action or of prophetic foreknowledge. In regard, then, to the biblical records the problem is not to ascertain whether they are true or not; but, assuming their untruth, to explicate how they came into existence and credit. To secure the triumph of the antisupernatural axiom the whole literature of a people, standing through ages, is to be remorselessly ground to powder. The axiom will neither admit that prophecy prefigured the person and history of the Messiah, nor the miracles of the Messiah himself. The absurdity of the processes by which the conclusions are attained, and the monstrosity of the conclusions themselves, are not fully felt until the whole stupendous abolition is complete, and then comes a revolt of the common sense. Father Hardouin and Bishop Colenso are found to be twin theorists.

But it is not the Bible, the Church, and the religion alone that are swept by this axiom of unfaith. Nature is by it reduced to a mechanism and God to a superfluity. The issue then is the Bible or Atheism. And with the Bible and Theism goes immortality; and man is reduced to the mere animal. Our purest sentiments become coarse and brutalized, our highest aspirations are bent downward. It is a battle for our highest nature. Nor will this degradation stop in thought, philosophy, or religion alone. It demoralizes and brutalizes private and public character and life. It engenders ultra-democracy, anarchy, and communism. Atheistic revolution is the penalty; from which there is no recovery but on the high plane of a firm religious faith which Christ and the Bible alone present.

The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With other Occasional Services. Small 12mo., pp. 108. London: Printed in the year MDCCLXXXIV.

The Sunday Service of the Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions. With other Occasional Services. Small 12mo., pp. 108. London: Printed by Frys & Couchman, Worship-street, Upper Moorsfield. 1786.

Though these two volumes cannot be classed with "the latest publications," being brown with venerable age, yet, both as relics of the primitive day of Methodism and suggestive mementos for our own present and future, we are glad to be able to give them a clear place in our "Quarterly Book-Table." The former of the two is the property of Bishop Harris, and the latter belongs to the library of Drew Seminary. The sole difference between the two volumes, so far as we can discover, is in the title-pages, and the absence of one of the Twenty-five Articles in the first volume. They are, in every respect, two editions of the same book. The first was printed without place or name of printer for our American Church after our National Independence of Britain; the second, two years later, for the British Methodists universally.

Both volumes commence with the following note of Introduction, with the same date at bottom:

I believe there is no Liturgy in the World, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, Scriptural, rational piety, than the Common Prayer of the Church of England. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it, not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

Little alteration is made in the following edition of it, (which I recommend to our Societies in America,) except in the following instances: 1. Most of the holydays (so called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end. 2. The service of the Lord's Day, the length of which has been often complained of, is considerably shortened. 3. Some sentences in the offices of Baptism, and for the Burial of the Dead, are omitted; and, 4. Many Psalms left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation.

BRISTOL, *September* 9, 1784. JOHN WESLEY.

Then follows an index of three pages for the Lessons to be read. They are designated by the churchly methods, "Sunday after Advent," "Easter," "Whitsunday," "Trinity," etc. Then follow the prayers and lessons and psalms in full. The Ritual succeeds, with the forms of the ordinances and ordinations, concluding with one hundred and four psalms and hymns. On the whole we suggest some notes.

It was American Methodism which first brought out Mr. Wesley's purposed construction of his societies into a Church. Here as elsewhere he acted upon the suggestions of Providence. He waited four years before he obeyed the unanimous request of the American Methodists to give them an episcopal churchdom. Its

form appears in the first of these two volumes. Two years later he prescribed the same episcopal church-form for all the "Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions." How false is the talk that Mr. Wesley regretted the ordination of Coke! So far from regretting his establishing an Episcopacy in America, he proceeded with a firm and steady step to prescribe the same Episcopacy for England. For that purpose he proceeded to ordain Mather as an English Methodist Bishop under the name of Superintendent, and the issue from his hand of the second of the above volumes, with its threefold ordinations, of three grades of ministers, is conclusive proof that he intended those ordinations to be perpetuated, and the universal establishment forever of one Methodist Episcopal Church. Had his purpose been completely accomplished our coming Ecumenical Conference would have been the assemblage of a purely Episcopal body of Churches. As it is, we shall have a truly Methodistic, but not perfectly Wesleyan, assemblage. The several American Episcopal Methodisms are alone in form completely Wesleyan Churches.

The question was raised in our last General Conference, When does a man become Bishop—at and by his election, or by his ordination? Strange that such a question should be raised by any Methodist competent to be elected to General Conference! Wesley ordained and made Coke a Bishop irrespective of any election whatever. Wesley's words of ordination were, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Superintendent in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," etc. It is not by the election, (for Coke was not elected at all,) but by the imposition of hands that the office and work of a Bishop are committed unto the candidate. Equally explicit is our own modified form, "The Lord pour upon thee the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the authority of the Church through the imposition of our hands," etc. According to this most excellent form, the episcopate is conferred by the manual imposition, but cannot be conferred otherwise than by "the authority of the Church," given through the General Conference election. The Church authorizes the officiating Bishop to "commit" the office to the candidate. The election selects the man, the imposition confers the office.

Our Bishops in 1844 said that the action of ordination was to "confirm" the election of the candidates. In the ordinary meaning of the word "confirm" that statement is certainly not true.

Or at least it does not express the full import of the action. The election is a complete act, a fact accomplished, and neither receives nor needs any confirmation. What the imposition of hands does is to "commit" the office to the man already fully elected. On the one hand, the election does not commit the office to the elect man; on the other, the ordaining Bishop has no power to refuse to ordain, or to ordain a man not elected. Should the Bishop refuse to ordain he would be guilty of contumacy. Should one or more Bishops, or one or more elders, ordain a man not elected by the proper authority, no Annual Conference and no part of the Church could properly accept his authority. If, however, some other Christian body elects, either before or after the ordination, the man so ordained, he is indeed their Bishop, and may be acknowledged as such. It is by the proper imposition of hands that the Bishop is made, (as Coke by Wesley;) it is by the election that he is appropriated by a particular Church as its Bishop. An ordained but not elected Bishop would be Bishop of no Church and of nothing.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for 1880. 12mo., pp. 64. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press. 1880.

During the thirteen years of its existence this society has disbursed near nine hundred thousand dollars. It has established six chartered institutions, being so-called colleges and universities, three theological schools, one medical, and ten unchartered academies and schools. It has taught nearly half a million scholars. A few Southern statesmen and ministers have begun to shed the sunshine of their faces on the work. The encouragements appearing have created the purpose of enlarging the field and including the poor whites, whom the old slaveocracy and the present remnants of that class have stigmatized as "white trash," and given over to brutalization.

Bishop Warren, in his speech at the anniversary, gives us a fine mixture of the figures of rhetoric and arithmetic. The following illustrates the wisdom of the neglect of or opposition to common schools: "Massachusetts raises for each one of its school population $15 26, North Carolina 77 cents, and Georgia but 95 cents. We will not compare States so differently situated, but two that lie almost along side, one settled by Northern and one by Southern people and ideas. In 1877 Kansas sent 87 per cent. of its children to school, Arkansas only 8 per cent.

Kansas raised $5 65 per child for education, Arkansas only about 50 cents. Commissioner Eaton says: 'A sadder statement for a single year could hardly be penned.' In 1878 the school population of Arkansas increased 12,708, but the number of pupils attending school increased only 377. In the Educational Report of General Eaton for 1877 we find that the six States of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Georgia reduced their meager appropriations for schools by over $2,000,000. In the report of 1878, the last issued, we find that Alabama, Arkansas, Virginia, and Kentucky are still backsliding. It is no comfort that they cannot go much farther; they are so near bottom now. Kentucky joins Delaware in the shame of giving people of color no educational advantage that they do not pay for themselves."—Pp. 54, 55.

The following illustrates the qualifications of the "Solid South" to govern the country: "The census of 1870 shall add a fact or two. By that census Massachusetts had $1,463 for every man, woman, and child on its soil; Alabama had $202; Georgia, $226; North Carolina, $243. The beggarly style in which the great mass of the people live cannot be appreciated except by the discomforts of an actual experience. President Fairchild, of Berea College, Kentucky, speaks of twenty counties in that State in which more than half of the people are unable to read. In six counties he says he found but one good school-house, and half of the people live in houses without windows. There has not been a single year between 1869 and 1879 when the single State of Illinois has not paid from once to twice as much internal revenue as the whole eleven Confederate States together."—P. 55. These solemn facts are a striking comment on the declaration made by Southern brethren that we are "not needed in the South."

We seem to hear of late the premonitory utterance of a proposal on the part of our brethren of the Church South that all our work and results in their section should—strange to say—be coolly and clearly cut off from our own future control, and handed over to the jurisdiction of the Church South. If we rightly understand the utterance, our delegation to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference soon to be held in London, may be met by a scheme to so cut up our entire Methodist Church into sections as that the entire Episcopal Methodism South will be incorporated into the Church South. We shall at present suggest but a single query as to this transfer of all our membership, schools, and churches to that jurisdiction.

That query lies in the total want of sympathy in the Church South with our entire Christian philanthropic work in the South. That work there exists in spite of their very unanimous opposition. The election of a line of Democratic instead of Republican Presidents would have probably enabled and induced the populace to expel our agencies from the South. And up to the present hour we hear the report of a speech from Bishop Pierce maintaining that we have no business in the South. We are not aware that our Southern brethren have established, as Church work, a single colored academy or school. Their last General Conference withheld all expression, not only of approval of *our* work, but even of *any* colored educational work. They set off from their own communion years ago a colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and granted them ordination and the legal ownership of their Church property on express condition that they should not join the "North Church," but never, we believe, have they given them a penny or a good word for the education of their ministry. We must see a very unanimous and total change of heart on this subject—we must see the creation of a hitherto non-existent "enthusiasm of humanity" toward the body and soul of both negro and poor white—before we can entertain the proposal, or even thought, of placing this great and glorious enterprise under their control. When the Bishops and ministry and press and laity of the Church South can say to us in genial sympathy: "Brethren, we appreciate your self-sacrificing liberalities and toils; we rejoice with bounding hearts at your success; we desire the enlightenment of the ignorant and the upraising of the poor and downtrodden, of whatever race or color; and we exult in joining and emulating you with full heart, hand, and purse in your labor of Christian love"—then we may begin to think of leaving the work in their hands. No such utterances or spirit, and no action in accordance with such utterances or spirit, have, with a noble exception or two, been heard to this hour. The frown is still upon the face, and the cold shoulder is still spread, and episcopal announcements still declare that we are not needed in the South. To this generous proposal of theirs, therefore, to take the fee-simple of the temporalities and spiritualities of our Southern field into their own hands, we should most cordially reply: "Brethren, we admit the magnanimity of your offer; but your slavery-born propensities are still too strong within you, and we dare not as yet trust our humble wards in your guardianship."

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1877.

This is a popular commentary intended to convey to its readers the results of critical study. It is from the pen of an eminent English Wesleyan scholar. An Arminian dogmatic interest is predominant in the exposition; yet, we think, in no such manner as to impair its fairness. The epistle is carefully analyzed, and the comment follows the analysis. The first division extends from chapter i, 18 to iii, 20, with the title, "All are guilty." Division II, from chapter iii, 21, to chapter v, includes "Sanctification and its Results." Division III, "The New Life in Christ," chapters vi–viii. Division IV, "The Harmony of the Old and the New," chapters ix–xi. Division V, "Practical Lessons," chapter xii to the end of the epistle. Special pains are taken to explain leading terms, such as "faith, holiness, election," etc. On adoption and the witness of the Spirit the author is clear and satisfactory. "In the order of cause and effect"—we give his concluding sentences on the passage—"the witness of God's Spirit precedes that of our own spirit; but in the order of our thought our own cry comes first. We are first conscious of our own filial confidence, and then remember that it was wrought in us by the Holy Spirit." On election and predestination the notes are very full, and the view taken is both reasonable and logically consistent. The doctrinal mistakes of Calvin and Augustine are pointed out, and at the same time justice is done to their sincere effort to protect the Church from Pelagian error. The Predestinarianism of the fathers of the Protestant Reformation was undoubtedly a reaction from the Catholic dogma of the satisfaction of divine justice by human works. Their going to the opposite extreme is not without precedent in the history of human thought.

The expression, "They who put to death the actions of the body," appears to us to be uncouth, if not unmeaning. The author's desire to develop Wesleyan theology leads him to add much matter to what is strictly exposition of the text; but for popular use this is, perhaps, no disadvantage.

The Four Gospels; or, The Gospel for All the World. By D. S. GREGORY, Professor of the Mental Sciences and English Literature in the University of Worcester. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

In this volume Professor Gregory endeavors to solve the question why we have a fourfold life of Christ. He follows the classification accepted by many critics, that Matthew's is the Gospel for

the Jew, Mark's for the Roman, Luke's for the Greek, and John's for the Church. Under each head he gives, first, the historical, and then the critical view of the adaptation of each to its purpose. Thus, for instance, it is shown that the central idea of the Gospel of Matthew is that Jesus is the Messiah, and that this idea is the key to its meaning. Mark presents the successive stages of the work of Jesus as the divine Conqueror in establishing his universal empire. The historical testimonies are compactly summed up, and a good critical analysis is presented of the Gospels in their turn.

It is possible to push this theory too far; and it may be a question whether it has not been pushed too far by Professor Gregory. The three synoptical Gospels were undoubtedly intended each for a certain race or people; and this fact may have determined the selection of matter and the form of its presentation. But that Mark had in his mind the establishment of such a thesis as Professor Gregory ascribes to him may well be doubted. All the evangelists agree in the purpose to show that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, but beyond this, in our opinion, they attempted nothing farther than to adapt themselves to the persons among whom the Gospels were intended to circulate. John affirms the purpose of his Gospel to be the general one we have named. (Chap. xx, 31.) He may have intended, besides, to supplement the synoptists, which he certainly did. But whatever may be thought of Professor Gregory's theory his book is a most excellent one; it condenses into a small compass a large amount of valuable information.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The New Testament. By Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, Th.D. From the German, with the Sanction of the Author. The Translation Revised and Edited by William P. Dickson, D.D. *The Epistle to the Ephesians and The Epistle to Philemon.* 8vo., pp. 383. *The Epistle to the Thessalonians.* By Dr. Gottleib Lunemann. Translated from the Third Edition of the German, by Rev. Paton J. Gloag, D.D. 8vo., pp. 254. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880.

Biblical scholars will watch and welcome the progress of this great work. With the volume containing Ephesians and Philemon the master-hand of Meyer ceases its work. It is marvelous that one man should have achieved so great a task. His successors, Lünemann, Huther, and Düsterdieck, though unequal to the master, have worthily continued the work. The Clarks will issue all the volumes with the possible exception of Düsterdieck's Apocalypse. The accuracy of the translators' and

publishers' part of the work is, we believe, very complete; and the exegetical student will rejoice in seeing this plain but handsome set standing on his library shelves.

History of Christian Doctrines. By the late Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology at Basel. Translated from the fifth and last German edition, with additions from other sources, with Introduction by E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London; Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. New York: [Scribners' imported edition; price, $3.]

One condition of being a good theologian is a thorough acquaintance with the history of the doctrinal thought of the Christian Church of past ages. No author, on this subject, rivals Hagenbach. We welcome the steady progress of this new and latest edition.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Introduction to the Science of Language. By A. H. SAYCE, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. In two volumes, crown 8vo., pp. 441, 421. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

The work of Professor A. H. Sayce, which he modestly styles "An Introduction to the Science of Language," marks an epoch in the most fascinating, and also the most fruitful, branch of "The New Learning." Bopp published his work, "*Das Conjugationssystem*," in 1816, and this work laid the first stone of the science of comparative philology; but his "Sanskrit Grammar" did not appear until 1827, and from this latter event we may more appropriately date the commencement of work upon this new temple of knowledge. Professor Sayce introduces the student to a science which has been built up in half a century. Doubtless a good deal of older knowledge has entered into the building; but, as a rule, it has had to be taken out again. The new science rose upon the site of the old grammar, and yet it has entirely reconstructed this ground upon which it built. So that, while grammar may be said to have grown into the science of language, it may also be said that the science of language has made a new system of grammars. It is a very striking fact that this new science, which, though it has a well-defined field, touches all the great knowledge and faith questions of our times, has been kept so free from entangling alliances with the sleepless and unforgiving controversies of the age. This happy result is due to the genuine scholarship and disciplined culture of those who

have pursued these studies in language. While some men cannot talk about light without letting fly poisoned arrows at religion, the professors of comparative philology have been able to express their views upon collateral issues in all the momentous debates with such discretion, candor, and modesty as to retain the good-will of all the fraternities of knowledge.

If these two volumes be only "An Introduction" there must be a large place beyond their gates. In the strictest sense, it is only an introduction which Professor Sayce has written. He leads his reader up to the several problems presented by linguistics, opens each one of them fully enough to make clear its nature, difficulties, and limits, and leaves his reader face to face with the work left for the studies of the future. Every knowledge has its impassable bounds; somewhere the discoverer must write *ne plus ultra;* a science has reached a certain stability, and even venerableness, when it can say, "I do not know and I cannot find out." Linguistic study can scarcely be said to have defined its limits so as to be able to confess its powerlessness in certain directions. It has cast out of its domain a number of questions, (such as race, for example,) and it has greatly changed the forms of others, (the origin of language is a specimen,) so that what remains to be studied is stated in such terms as to suggest that research may make all things plain—all, that is to say, which is accepted as within the province of the science of language.

In this science the first has become last; its first serious wrestle was with comparative morphology, but no sooner had the grammatical forms yielded up their laws than the student of them began to send morphology to the rear, and now Professor Sayce hesitatingly assigns morphology a place at the end of the line. Phonology, the science of intelligent sounds, and sematology, the science of meanings in words, are now the two main branches of the science. Morphology, according to Professor Sayce, is essentially a matter of syntax, but it retains in his work the office of determining the classification of languages because the mode of constructing the sentence remains the best-known principle of classification. Phonology is the region of positive knowledge, intelligent sounds are things of physics and physiology, and, therefore, ponderable and measurable. Meanings are in the realm of metaphysics, and involve some of the most subtle and subtile mental phenomena. Morphology originates in the metaphysical region, but evolves itself into the ponderable facts of syntax.

It is an interesting fact that phonology, though it is the physical domain, cannot afford us a principle of classification. The distribution of languages into families has to be effected by grouping mental results as they appear in the sentence. And so perplexingly common is the mind of man that all kinds of syntax occur in all languages, so that the groups have to be made by collating only the predominant syntactical characteristics of every speech. The inference is unavoidable that the ardor with which phonology has been pursued, and the hopes based upon the microphone or other mirrors of sound, have met, and must meet, disappointment. Language does, indeed, consist of sounds, but the contents are so much the larger and more masterful part that the poor shells of sound sink into relative insignificance. "We have," says Professor Sayce, "to discover the different mental points of view from which the structure of the sentence was regarded by different races of mankind; to investigate and compare the various contrivances and processes through which these points of view eventually found their fullest expression; to classify the modes of denoting the relations of grammar at the disposal of language; to examine the nature of composition and of stems in the groups of speech of which they are characteristic; to analyze the conceptions of grammar, and to determine the elements and germs out of which they have sprung; and, finally, to ascertain the true origin and meaning of the so-called rules of syntax, and keep record of the changes that take place in the change of words."—Vol. i, p. 440. To pursue such studies successfully, we must, according to our author, give less attention to roots and single words. "We shall never," he says, "have a satisfactory starting-point for our classification unless we put both word and root out of sight, and confine ourselves to the sentence or proposition, and the ways in which the sentence may be expressed." —Vol. i, p. 369. The sentence is, historically, anterior to the words of which it may now be composed. Grammar grew from resolution of the sentence into its elements. "In the less advanced American languages the several members of the sentence have never attained the rank of independent words which can be set apart and employed by themselves." The present reviewer several years ago made the suggestion in these pages that common household speech consists of sentences, and he believes that the Genoese peasant is incapable of resolving his speech into words.

Probably the most satisfactory chapter in this book is that devoted to roots. Starting from the endless discussion whether the

first roots were nouns or verbs, Professor Sayce advances to the general conclusion that the primordial root was rather a mental type than a real word; "it was an unexpressed, unconsciously felt type which floated before the mind of the speaker, and determined him in the choice of the words he formed." "The primordial types which presented themselves almost unconsciously before the framers of language, which lay implicit in the words they created, must be discovered and made explicit by the comparative philologist. Just as the phonologist breaks up words into their component sounds, so must the philologist break up groups of allied words into their roots, for roots are to groups of words what the letters and syllables are to each word by itself." In other terms, our search for roots is an attempt to trace the mental operations in speech of those who did not speak these types, but only had them unexpressed in their minds. Following this line of reasoning we see, of course, that Professor Whitney speculated unprofitably when he told us that the Aryan group of languages were descended from a monosyllabic tongue; that our ancestors talked to each other in single syllables. Professor Sayce pronounces such a language "a sheer impossibility," contradicted by all that we know of savage and barbarous dialects. The general student will be refreshed to know this; and he may also take comfort from knowing that the so-called primordial roots are the grammatical children of our philologists. "The so-called 'root period' of the primitive Aryan really means the analysis of the most ancient Aryan vocabulary which a comparison of the later dialects enables us to make. Behind that root-period lay another, of which obscure glimpses are given us by the roots we can still further decompose."—Vol. ii, p. 10.

The brief compass of a book notice restrains us from much comment upon the inferential views of Professor Sayce upon several subjects. He is a strong advocate of an improved spelling for our language. For that matter, all scholars are substantially agreed that our spelling is bad. The differences among them are entirely respecting the possibility of improving the spelling of a language written by a hundred millions of people now belting the world. Science can make no valuable contributions to this question until the practical parts of the problem seem less difficult. Perhaps time and the very sensible discussion of the subject, which is now common, may prepare the way for the introduction of an improved spelling. When we want one, the researches and experiments in phonology, of which Professor Sayce

makes a useful record in his fourth chapter, will furnish principles to guide the reformer. The conclusion which our author reaches respecting the age of human speech seem to us less satisfactory. He believes that "the antiquity of man as a speaker is vast and indefinite." It is possible, of course, that before the oldest record of spoken language there was a vast period of growth and decay, a long struggle with imperfect vocalization, a slow progress up from interjections into sentence words and thence into artificial grammar; it is possible, but it is not proved or provable. We have no time-piece for the mental growth which underlies grammar. We may come to possess one, but it is, perhaps, hardly to be expected that we shall. At all events, a true student must continue to shrink from affirming that there are ever so many cities under the remains of the last-found predecessor of Troy.

D. H. W.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Invasion of the Crimea; Its Origin and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Vol. IV.

The subject treated in this volume is very appropriately designated "the winter troubles." The victory won by the Allies at Inkerman did not relieve them from the necessity of spending the winter of 1854–55 on the bleak and barren downs known as the Chersonese Heights. The battle of Alma, fought in September, had made them virtually masters of the whole Crimea, Sebastapool and the Chersonese only excepted, and of these the defeated Russians had at that moment only a very weak hold. But when the Allies committed the grave military blunder of marching by the Russian flank to the south of Sebastapool, they left all the communications of their enemy open, and thereby enabled him to pour in those reinforcements which put him in a condition, not merely to make a most obstinate defense of the fortress, but also to so hem in the allied forces that they could not stir beyond the ground on which they were encamped. Hence the commissariat of the allied armies was wholly dependent on supplies sent from England and France.

Two results followed this dependence. It demonstrated the incapacity of both the French and English systems of military administration, and it involved both armies in a depth of privation and suffering rarely paralleled in the cruel records of war.

The volume before us fearlessly, faithfully exhibits the factors which enter into the demonstration of the former point; and it portrays with graphic force the terrible and long-continued misery so heroically and patiently endured by the unfortunate soldiers in both camps. Nor were the sufferings of the Russians much less severe than those of their besiegers. It is true they were better sheltered; but, owing to the impossibility of forwarding suitable and sufficient supplies for such vast numbers to a point so far distant from the base as the Crimea, they were subjected to almost inconceivable privations. Taking into account the length of time during which all three armies suffered the horrors of that terrible winter, we know of no other leaf in the annals of human wars more painfully illustrative of their folly and cruelty.

In nothing was the English war department more inefficient than in its hospital arrangements. Hundreds of men died in them who, under better treatment, might have been restored to health. When the disgraceful facts reached England, a new force arose. The women of England, represented by Miss Stanley, Florence Nightingale, and other self-sacrificing ladies, hastened to nurse the sick and console the dying victims of the war. Mr. Kinglake does ample justice to those devoted women, as he does also to Lord Raglan, the noble-minded, patient, and sorely tried British commander. Though not treating of brilliant deeds of arms, but of the nobler courage which refused to yield in face of difficulties so grim as to invite despair, this volume wins the reader's attention as readily as either of its predecessors.

Memorials of Gilbert Haven, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by W. H. DANIELS, author of "The Illustrated History of Methodism," "D. L. Moody and his Work," "The Temperance Reform," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. BRADFORD K. PEIRCE, D.D., Editor of "Zion's Herald." 12mo, pp. 359. Boston: B. B. Russell & Co. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. Philadelphia: Quaker City Publishing House. 1880.

Without waiting the deliberate movements of official biographers, Mr. Daniels has here gathered the materials of a beautiful memorial to the Bishop. A brief biography, a collection of eulogies, a series of "Havenisms," being passages from his writings and details of his opinions, illustrated with eight engravings, form its contents. It is most tastefully done up by the publishers, in blue and gilt, on fine paper and liberal print, forming a memento pleasing to the eye. The engraved likeness of the Bishop as frontispiece wonderfully presents the blended force and mildness of his nature.

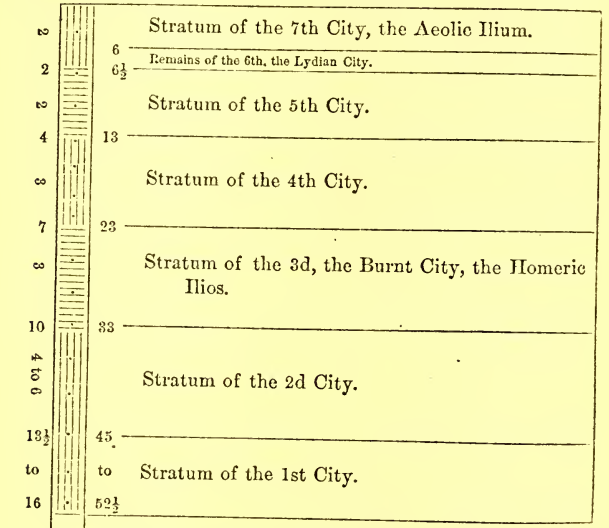
Ilios, the City and Country of the Trojans: The Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and throughout the Troad in the Years 1871–72–73–78–79. Including an Autobiography of the Author. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN. With a Preface, Appendices, and Notes, by Professors RUDOLPH VIRCHOW, MAX MÜLLER, A. H. SAYCE, J. P. MAHAFFY, H. BRUGSCH-BEY, P. ACHERSON, M. A. POSTOLACCAS, M. E. BURNOUF, Mr. F. CALVERT, and Mr. A. J. DUFFIELD. With Maps, Plans, and about 1,800 Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 800. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Schliemann, his history, researches, and achievements, are a real-life romance. The whole story is marvelous and unique—"truth stranger than fiction." He was born in 1822, the son of a Prussian clergyman, and was early fired by his father's conversation with an enthusiasm for Homer and Troy, and a desire to exhume the buried remains of the Homeric city. His enthusiastic talk on the subject made him the laughing-stock of all his young associates save two sweet maidens, the younger of whom especially utterly won his heart by listening to and sympathizing with his enthusiasm. His love for her energized his soul and body for the giant work. He learned languages in his own unique way with a marvelous rapidity, and, entering into trade, grew rich with as marvelous a facility. The moment he was rich enough for marriage he sent his offer to his distant sweetheart, which arrived, alas! a few days after her marriage to another. He subsequently married an Athenian lady, who not only sympathized in his enthusiasms, but heroically shared in the dangers and fatigues of his labors. He believes, with a serene faith, that a gracious providence guided him. He gave up trade and traveled to all the most interesting points of the world. While in California the adoption of a new constitution made all present residents American citizens; so that Schliemann was overlaughed with an American citizenship, and jubilantly and proudly, finds himself one of the universal Yankees! At the proper time for his immediate mission of "resurrecting" dead and buried Troy, he obtained leave from the Turkish government, by aid of European and American ministers, and, bringing a small army of diggers to the hill of Hissarlik, he cut it from summit to bottom with enormous gorges. The magnificent book before us tells us his latest and fullest story. Nor does he now tell his simple story alone. Attended by a body-guard of men like Virchow, Max Müller, and others above named, he may safely hold himself no longer amenable to questionings of his honesty or even to captious criticisms upon his work. His triumph is complete.

Coming, then, to Hissarlik, the mound of Troy, the spade of Schliemann pierced down through seven successive cities to the

basal limestone rock. These successive urban strata are presented to our eye in the following

DIAGRAM.



Native rock.—Its present height above the sea is 109½ feet. Its present height above the plain at the foot of the hill is consequently 59½ feet, but it may probably have been 16 or 20 feet more at the time of the Trojan war, the plain having increased in height by the alluvia of the rivers and the detritus of vegetable and animal matter.

The first, or bottom city, resting upon the rock, was without walls, and abounds in pottery, which, if taken as a test of civilization, proves the bottom city to be superior to the city above it. Simple plastic clay seems divinely provided for man's earliest efforts at forming permanent vessels and utensils; being, in fact, earlier accessible than metals, and more pliable to man's rude hand than wood. Hence urns, jars, and bowls of hand-shaped and sun-dried or fire-baked clay, stand in place of wooden coffins,

boxes, and wash-tubs, having the advantage of easier formation, and then enduring to bear their testimony to future ages. Besides pottery, there were here found stone implements and articles of gold, silver, and copper, but no iron. Gold readily reveals itself to man by its glitter and beauty, and copper by its purity in solid lumps; but iron lies concealed in the ore until art detects and develops it. Yet in Genesis Tubal-cain was an iron-dealer before the flood. Iron, however, is said to be mentioned in the Pentateuch but thirteen times, while brass (the mixture of copper and tin) occurs twenty-four times. Of *the second city*, the layer reveals a specimen of the phallus, indicating that that strange worship was contemporary with that stratum. Derived, probably, from Phœnicia, this emblem signalized the worship of the generative power of nature, having the bull and the cow for its animal generative symbols, and referring to the sun as the great generator of life, and the moon as his sister and wife. These appear as Baal and Ashtoreth in the Hebrew history. The third city, "the burnt city," is the center of interest, as being the locality celebrated in Homeric song. Even this city discloses no iron, and not a single specimen of a sword. It is the opinion of Virchow that it is not to the West that we must look for correlated archæology with that of Hissarlik, but to the East—to Assyria and Egypt. This accords with the biblical account, which reveals the cradle of the race in Asia pouring its migrations westward. Troy stood in the great highway of transition across the Hellespont to Europe. And this third city displays the signs of such a conflagration as every Latin student has found depicted in the early pages of Virgil. "Here," says Virchow, "was a great devouring fire, in which the clay walls of the buildings were molten and made fluid like wax, so that congealed drops of glass bear witness at the present day to the mighty conflagration. Only at a few places are cinders left, whose structure enables us to discover what was burnt—whether wood or straw or wheat or pease. A very small part of this city has escaped the fire; and only here and there in the burned parts have portions of the houses remained uninjured beneath the rubbish of the foundering walls. Almost the whole is burned to ashes. How enormous must have been the fire that devoured all this splendor! And in spite of all this what riches have been brought to light out of the ashes! Treasures of gold, one after another, presented themselves to the astonished eye. The possession of such treasures must have become famous far and wide. The splendor of

this chieftain must have awakened envy and covetousness; and the ruin of his high fortress can signify nothing less than his own downfall and the destruction of his race."

Troy and its downfall were real historic facts. Magnified and glorified by the poets as they were, so that we can draw no clear line between fact and legend, facts lay at the base of the legend. History, chronology, and topography are all too definite and coincident to allow a reasonable doubt. And the burned city exhumed by Schliemann's spade is the locality and remnant of the real Homeric Troy. To believe that all the coincidences that unite in demonstrating this identity are fallacious is credulity, not healthful skepticism. For, first, while all agree that the Homeric locality was in the Troad, there is no other spot than Hissarlik that can raise pretension. Two localities have been named, but the inevitable spade demonstrates the fact that neither of them can show the remains of an ancient city, and so their rivalry has no existence. On the contrary, Hissarlik has the suffrage, unanimous and supreme, of all antiquity. Demetrius, of Scepsis, a late writer, was the first to question this site, and Professor Mahaffy has in the present volume shown the motive and fallacy of his falsehood. The claims of Bournabashi are refuted by its distance from the sea-shore, by its want of all ancient testimony, and by the unanswerable logic of the spade. When Xerxes came from Asia with his millions to conquer Europe he went up to the hill of Hissarlik to pay his homage to the heroes of Troy. When Alexander marched from Europe to conquer Asia he stood upon the summit of Hissarlik and offered his homage alike to Achilles and to Homer. Here, all true antiquity said, was the site of the burned Troy; and here Schliemann, in our day, has thrust in his spade *and found it.*

It seems a formidable objection to Hissarlik as the site of the Homeric Ilion that due measurement shows not space enough for more than a respectable village of three thousand inhabitants. Schliemann's answer to this objection is important because applicable to other ancient foundations than those of Troy. Scholars, classical and biblical, have been too little observant of the smallness of ancient cities, especially at their commencements. Says Schliemann:

> As regards the size of all the pre-historic cities, I repeat that they were but very small. In fact, we can hardly too much contract our ideas of the dimensions of those primeval cities. . . . So, according to the Attic tradition, Athens was built by the Pelasgians, and was limited to the small rock of the Acropolis, whose plateau is of oval form, nine hundred feet long and four hundred feet broad at its broadest

part; but it was much smaller still until Cimon enlarged it by building the wall on its eastern declivity and leveling the slope within by means of *débris*. The Ionians, having captured the city, forced the Pelasgians to settle at the southern foot of the Acropolis. According to Thucydides, Athens was only enlarged by the coalescence of the Attic demi there (*συνοικισμός*) effected by Theseus. In like manner Athens, (Ἀθῆναι,) Thebes, (Θῆβαι,) Mycenæ, (Μυκῆναι,) and all the other cities whose names are of the plural form, were probably at first limited to their stronghold, called *πόλις*, and had their names in the singular; but the cities having been enlarged, they received the plural name, the citadel being then called Acropolis, and the lower town *πόλις*. The most striking proof of this is the name of the valley "Polis," in Ithaca, which, as I have shown above, is not derived from a real city, or acropolis—for my excavations there have proved that this *single* fertile valley in the island can never have been the site of a city—but from a natural rock, which has never been touched by the hand of man. This rock, however, having—as seen from below—precisely the shape of a citadel, is for this reason now called *castron*, and was, no doubt, in ancient times called *Polis*, which name has been transferred to the valley.

The ancient Polis or Asty (*ἄστυ*) was the ordinary habitation of the town-chief or king, with his family and dependents, as well as of the richer classes of the people; it was the site of the Agora and the temples, and the general place of refuge in time of danger. We have traces of this fact in the extended sense of the Italian *castello*, to embrace a town, and in the Anglo-Saxon *burh*; also, as Professor Virchow suggests to me, in the Slavish *gard=hortus*, (Burgwall.) "What, indeed," says Mr. Gladstone, "have we to say when we find that, in the period of the *incunabula* of Rome, the Romans on the Palatine were probably faced by the Sabines on the hill of the Capitol?" It is, therefore, not the smallness of the third, the burned city, which can prevent us from identifying it with the Homeric Troy, because Homer is not a historian, but an epic poet.—Pp. 514, 515.

These views appear to solve some difficulties in biblical history, especially those statements that seem to demand a larger primitive population than the chronology appears to admit. Thus Cain (Gen. iv, 17) "builded a city" in the land of Nod. That is, he fortified a nook which became, in a few decades, his castle, and in centuries a city that boasted of him as its founder. And so "the beginning" of Nimrod's kingdom, in Gen. x, 10, were three or four hunting rendezvous in the land of Shinar which became the ultimate foundation of the Assyrian Empire. So Mizraim led a body of emigrants to Egypt, somewhat larger, probably, than the household of Jacob, which in a subsequent age descended to the same country.

The revelations of Schliemann in regard to Troy come into no collision with biblical history. If we suppose that Homer was nearly contemporary with Solomon, the fall of Troy comes somewhere between Solomon and Moses. The two earlier cities, with their great depth of stratum, we could afford, if necessary, to admit to be antediluvian. On the other hand, the successive ascending strata, while they reveal the fact of progress in human history as a whole, show that progress to be often interrupted by retrogression.

The volume is a specimen of splendid book-making. Its wealth

of maps, diagrams, and pictures presents the best possible means for bringing the objects of the narrative clear before the mind's eye of the reader. It is done up, externally, in the Harpers' best style, and takes its place not only as "the book of the season," but as a permanent unique in literature.

Literature and Fiction.

Tales from the Norse Grandmother. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

The literature of old Norse in English has been at the best but scanty, and could boast of scarcely any attempt to popularize its Eddas and Sagas, until the volumes of Professor Anderson appeared. These were unfortunately marred by exaggerated praise of the old Norse as a literature, and immoderate and ungraceful attacks upon our study of Latin, which Mr. Anderson would summarily abolish, ("*Praterea censeo Romam esse delendam*," he says,) and replace with Norse. This book is written with another purpose, is to the point, and perhaps does not exaggerate the importance or attractiveness of the Norse remains. The worst thing about it is the title, which is neither attractive nor scientific, since the word Edda is not known to mean grandmother, (or great grandmother,) though this interpretation has plausibility and a good following among scholars. But as to the work itself it is deserving of almost unqualified praise. It will not only please young readers, for whom it was written, but every body, and will not repel the learned. Seldom, indeed, do we see a work so carefully and patiently prepared for type. Our author has also very happily extended the mythology of the North a little way into its history, and, by making us think of the people when she tells us of their religious system, has rendered their myths tenfold more real. The volume is, therefore, much more than a mythology, and vastly more interesting. Nothing is more difficult than to interest a reader, not a Norse specialist, or otherwise prepared to appreciate it, in Northern mythology—or, indeed, in the modern masterpieces of Scandinavian literature. There is a chill, a weirdness like that of an opened barrow, which repels. We trust this volume may do much toward awakening an interest in not only the old Scandinavian literature, but also the treasures of the new. S.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die deutschen Bischöfe und der Aberglaube. Eine Denkschift. By Prof. Dr. Fr. Heinr. Reusch. Bonn: 1879, Neusser.

This small octavo of 109 pages ("The German Bishops and Superstition") is not only a true, but a sad, and, in many respects, an amusing record of the duplicity and villainy of the Romish Church, as practiced upon their deluded followers by her bishops and priests in Germany.

The dissemination and encouragement of superstition among the masses have ever been a prolific source of the power of the Roman hierarchy in papal countries.

The priest who is the most expert in exciting and affecting to the greatest extent the credulity of the multitude, is the most popular and successful in his pastoral work, and never fails to be most acceptable to "the abomination that maketh desolate."

Dr. Reusch is an honest, zealous, learned, and an influential representative of the Old Catholic movement, and observes, writes, and speaks in the interest of truth and common sense, and not, as he expresses it, through any desire to injure Catholicism, or bring reproach on it in the eyes of those who do not belong to the Roman Catholic Church, but in the hope that by exposing the damage the sin will cease, and the wish that his publication of the truth may be honestly considered by all those who have at heart the spiritual welfare of German Catholics, and who are called to promote true religion among them.

He says, further, that the substance of his publication is made up of extracts from such writings as have appeared in Germany for the most part since the year 1870, and are disseminated among the Catholic people; that he has added to these extracts only so much as he considered necessary, in order that such readers as are not acquainted with these things may the more easily understand, and rightly estimate, the quotations; that the works from which he quotes are imported chiefly from France; that they appear every year in greater number, in the shops and stores of the best known Catholic booksellers and publishers, and at lowest possible price, so as to insure most certainly the greatest possible sale and quickest circulation; that the continual appearance of later editions and later writings of the same tendency is proof that this kind of literature finds large diffusion; that the German bishops are fearfully responsible for the spread of superstition by

means of these writings, for most of them appear with their approval; that they are responsible, too, for all books and writings that appear without such express approval, since they have the power, according to the laws of the Catholic Church, to demand that all religious writings appearing in their dioceses shall be laid before them for examination, and that they can thus prevent the publication, sale, and circulation of superstitious books among the Catholics. But there is not much to hope in this direction from the clergy of a Church that is ever ready to bestow upon its members blessings and benefits nowhere else to be found, such as indulgences to live to the flesh, and to dispense to the living safe passports to heaven, and for the dead remissions from the tortures of purgatory. Prayer to the heart of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph is recommended to all Catholics as an infallible medium through which to obtain all benefits for themselves, and deliverance for their dead from the flames of purgatory. Aside from this, prayer-unions are organized with such remarkable effect that one of the wonderful results is not unfrequently, in direct answer, freedom from military duty! According to the opinion of a certain French bishop, there is no doubt—for tradition fixes it—that at his last supper Jesus either handed to his mother or sent to her (although she was not in the company of the apostles, but was certainly present in the same house at the Easter solemnity) his sacrificial body and blood, in the form of food and drink. The same remarkably endowed prelate hesitates not to affirm the bodily ascension of the mother of Christ, and adduces as proof incontestable of the fact, the very remarkable circumstance, that the remainder of her clothing is still preserved and honored with most reverential care, in the oldest churches of Christendom. For example, Aix La Chapelle has preserved for more than a thousand years Mary's robe and girdle, which Constantinople four hundred years before had received from Jerusalem, and preserved in her oldest church, the Church of the Virgin; but that no Christian Church had ever been able to show relics of her body, and yet it is well known to be purely impossible that the holy apostolic Church had forgotten or neglected the place where such a treasure reposed. Bishop Martin, of Paderborn, regards this ingenious argument of his French brother bishop as so thoroughly convincing that he takes great delight in imitating him. He also affirms that he *knows* that Mary died (so then dead!) of no other sickness than that of love to her son, Jesus. Such are but a few of many examples cited by Dr. Reusch of the unblushing

manner in which superstition and falsehood are systematically diffused among the Catholic population of philosophic Germany, in order that the priest may the more easily and effectually control the mind and conscience of his deluded flock. The book is all the more interesting and valuable since it comes from one who, having had sufficient experience in the mysteries of Romanism to disgust him, has become awakened to the fact that he has long been groping in thick darkness, and is now honestly seeking after the true light. To preacher and people, and to all who are interested in exposing the tricks of priestcraft, branding the infamy of the Romish Church, advancing the cause of truth, planting pure and deep and firm the principles of our holy religion, and vindicating the purity, simplicity, and power of our glorious Christianity, we earnestly advise a careful perusal of the work.

Archäologische Studien über altchristliche Monumente. Mit 26 Holzschn. By Dr. Vict. Schultze. Wien: 1880, Braumüller.

The above work is not from the hand of a flying traveler who, possessing little or no previous preparation for archæological investigation, visits places of historic importance and observes and studies objects of interest only long enough to form wrong conceptions, and to give off false impressions; but from the hand of a trained and an experienced master, whose great object is to interpret honestly and intelligently the symbols of the faith that sustained the early Christians, not only in life, but remained as an anchor to the soul in the hour and article of death; and to do this not in the interest of this sect or that, or for the propagation and support of this or that system of dogmatics, but in the service of universal Christian truth.

Dr. Schultze, who is a fine classical archæologist, and is well known for his rare powers of exact observation, as well as for his correct appreciation of the conditions of the historical development of the most ancient Christian art, has made, for years, the oldest art monuments of Italy one of his special lines of study, and, as one of the results of his labors, in this interesting field of investigation, presents the reader in this volume an amount of information that is not only astonishing, but, better than all, entirely reliable, and, so far as we know, not to be found in any other work on the same subject.

The work consists of eight essays, preceded by an introduction, in which the author prepares the reader for the better com-

prehension and appreciation of the general principles of his system of interpretation.

His remarks on the symbolism of the *Bilderkreis* of the early Christians are very full of interest. In the first essay, in which the interest of his remarks is much enhanced by a number of important illustrations, the author, in order to apply his principles the better, discusses and interprets very carefully the frescoes of the Sacrament Chapels in S. Callisto.

The subject of the third essay is the Juno Pronuba Sarcophagus in Villa Ludovisi, which the author says has remained to the present unnoticed by the student of old Christian monuments. He assigns this stone coffin to the second half of the fourth century, and regards it as a most interesting example of the syncretism of that period.

The fourth essay relates to the Catacombs of Syracuse. These chambers of the dead, which are as yet but little known, are, in the judgment of Dr. Schultze and also of the writer of this notice, of no little importance, as contributing to the oldest history of Christianity in Sicily.

In number five the author describes and interprets forcibly and clearly, we think, although differing in his interpretation from nearly all other archæologists, a sarcophagus of *S. Paolo fuori le mura*, an old Christian monument about which much has been said and written by different critics.

The next number is a treatise on, and critique of, the old Christian art representations of Mary. In order to this the author makes out a list of forty-two numbers, which he arranges in chronological order, thus giving a general, and at the same time critical, view of images of the Virgin preserved up to the fifth century.

In number seven, which relates to the grave of St. Peter, he shows the traditions of the Church of Rome respecting the location of the grave, to be utterly worthless and supremely ridiculous.

In number eight a description, and, in many instances, short explanations, of one hundred and twenty numbers of the old Christian sculptures found in the *Museo Kircheriano* in Rome, are given.

The work is an octavo of 287 pages, and is furnished with twenty-six wood engravings, and an alphabetical index. We doubt not that all who take an interest in the discovery, study, and interpretation of old Christian monuments, will be pleased

to give it a hearty welcome. To the student of monumental theology, the Christian archæologist, and to the Church, we can recommend it as a work of no little value.

Miscellaneous.

Great Preachers, Ancient and Modern. By Rev. W. H. Withrow, M.A. 12mo., pp. 221. Toronto: William Briggs, Methodist Book Room. 1880.

Mr. Withrow's name is well known to our readers as an acceptable contributor to our Quarterly, and the author of an admirable work on "The Catacombs." His selection of "Preachers" takes a high range among the tallest pulpit orators of the Universal Church of the Christian ages. Of ancient preachers the roll consists of Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Augustine; of the modern, Francis Xavier, John Knox, Richard Baxter, and George Whitefield. The essays are attractive and elevating pictures of the purest and noblest men of our race.

Letters to a Quaker Friend on Baptism. By William Taylor, author of "Christian Adventures in South Africa," "Four Years' Campaign in India," "Our South American Cousins," etc. 18mo., pp. 163. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Our stalwart evangelist believes in body as well as in soul. In letters, at once gentle and forcible, he refutes the erroneous spirituality of our Quaker friends, who would abolish the ordinances and retain a semblance of their import. The argument against their view has heretofore been seldom presented, and this little manual is largely original, finding and supplying a blank place in our doctrinal library.

Missionary Concerts for the Sunday-School: A Collection of Declamations, Select Readings, and Dialogues. Compiled by Rev. W. T. Smith. 16mo., pp. 267. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1881.

Franklin Square Library: *The Dean's Wife.* By Mrs. C. J. Eiloart. 4to., pp. 58. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

"The Human Race," and Other Sermons, Preached at Cheltenham, Oxford, and Brighton. By the late Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, M.A. 12mo., pp. 236. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Duty. With Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance. By Samuel Smiles, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 412. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

A Key to the Apocalypse; or, Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John in the Isle of Patmos. By Rev. Alfred Brunson, A.M., D.D. 16mo., pp. 215. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Notes on Baptism: In which its Spirituality as a Covenant, Made or Kept, is Clearly Set Forth and Uniformly Adhered to. By Rev. R. Gregg. 16mo., pp. 151. Springfield, Ill.: H. W. Bokker. 1880.

The Story of the United States Navy. For Boys. By Benson J. Lossing, LL.D. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 418. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Shakespeare. A Critical Study of his Mind and Art. By Edward Dowden, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 386. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

The Mountain Movers; or, A Criticism of so-called Modern Miracles, in Answer to the Prayer of Faith. By Stephen H. Tyng, Jun., D.D. 16mo., pp. 32. Paper Covers. New York: The People's Pulpit Publishing Co. 1880.

Christian Heroism: Illustrated in the Life and Character of St. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. A Discourse. By A. A. Lipscomb, D.D., LL.D. Small 8vo., pp. 56. Paper covers. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co. 1880.

Platonism versus *Christianity:* The Question of Immortality, Historically Considered, with special reference to the Apostasy of the Christian Church. To which is annexed an Essay on The Unity of Man. By J. H. Pettingell, A.M. 16mo., pp. 97. Paper Covers. Philadelphia: The Bible Banner Association. 1881.

Good Government. Appeal of Peter Cooper, now in the 91st Year of his Age, to all Legislators, Editors, Religious Teachers, and Lovers of Our Country. By Peter Cooper. 8vo., pp. 48. Paper Covers. New York: J. J. Little & Co., Printers. 1880.

Catholics and Protestants Agreeing on the School Question. By I. T. Hecker. 8vo., pp. 16. Paper Covers. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1881.

The New South: Gratitude, Amendment, Hope. A Thanksgiving Sermon, for Nov. 25, 1880. By Atticus G. Haygood, D.D. 8vo., pp. 16. Paper Covers. Oxford, Ga. 1880.

Higher Education of Medical Men, and its Influence on the Profession and the Public. Being the Address delivered before the American Academy of Medicine, at its Fifth Annual Meeting, held at Providence, R. I., Sept. 28, 1880. By F. D. Lente, A.M., M.D. 8vo., pp. 16. Paper Covers. New York: Chas. L. Bermingham & Co. 1880.

The Southern Pulpit. Jan., 1881. Conducted by Rev. H. M. Jackson, and Rev. J. J. Lafferty. 8vo., pp. 60. Paper Covers. Richmond, Va.